

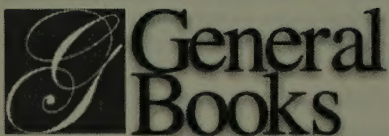
**A Residence in France
During the Years 1792,
1793, 1794, and 1795
(Volume 1); Described in
a Series of Letters From
an English Lady : With**

Helen Maria Williams

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THE YEARS 1792, 1793, 1794, AND
1795; DESCRIBED IN A SERIES OF
LETTERS FROM AN ENGLISH
LADY : WITH GENERAL AND**

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A RESIDENCE IN FRANCE DURING THE YEARS 1792, 1793, 1794, AND 1795;...

PRELIMINARY REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

THE following Letters were submitted to my inspection and judgement by the Author, of whose principles and abilities I had reason to entertain a very high opinion. How far my judgement has been exercised to advantage in enforcing the propriety of introducing them to the notice of the public, that public must decide. To me, I confess, it appeared, that a series of important facts, tending to throw a strong light on the internal state of France, during the most important period of the Revolution, could neither prove uninteresting to the general reader, nor indifferent to the future historian of that momentous epoch; and I conceived, that the apposite and judicious reflections of a well-formed and well-cultivated mind, naturally arising out of events within the immediate scope of its own observation, could not at all, in the smallest degree diminish the interest: which, in my apprehension, they are calculated to excite. My advice upon this occasion was farther influenced by another consideration. Having traced, with minute attention, the progress of the revolution, and the conduct of its advocates, I had remarked the extreme assiduity employed (as well by translations of the most violent productions of the Gallic press, as by original compositions,) to introduce and propagate, in foreign countries, those pernicious principles which have already sapped the foundation of social order, destroyed the happiness of millions, and spread

defolation and ruin over the finest country in Europe. I had particularly observed the incredible efforts exerted in England, and, I am sorry to say, with too much success, for the base purpose of giving a false colour to every action of the persons exercising the powers of government in France; and I had marked, with indignation, the atrocious attempt to strip vice of its deformity, to dress crime in the garb of virtue, to decorate flattery with the symbols of freedom, and to give to folly the attributes of wisdom. I had seen, with extreme concern, men, whom the lenity, myriads of lenity, I must call it, of our government had rescued from punishment, if not from ruin, busily engaged in this scandalous traffic, and, availing themselves of their extensive connections to diffuse, by an infinite variety of channels, the poison of democracy over their native land. In short, I had seen the British press, the grand palladium of British liberty, devoted to the cause of Gallic licentiousness, that mortal enemy of all freedom, and even the pure stream of British criticism diverted from its natural course, and polluted by the pestilential vapours of Gallic republicanism. I therefore deemed it essential, by an exhibition of well-authenticated facts, to correct, as far as might be, the evil effects of misrepresentation and error, and to defend the empire of truth, which had been assailed by a host of foes.

My opinion of the principles on which the present system of government in France was founded, and the war to which those principles gave rise, have been long since submitted to the public. Subsequent events, far from invalidating, have strongly confirmed it. In all the public declarations of the Directory, in their domestic policy, in their conduct to foreign powers, I plainly trace the prevalence of the same principles, the same contempt for the rights and happiness of the people, the same spirit of aggression and aggrandizement, the same eagerness to overturn the existing institutions of neighbouring states, and the same desire to promote "the universal revolution of Europe," which marked the conduct of Brissot, Le Brun, Desmoulins, Robespierre, and their disciples. Indeed, what stronger instance need be adduced of the continued prevalence of these principles, than the promotion to the supreme rank in the state, of two men who took an active part in the most atrocious proceedings of the Convention at the close of 1793, and at the commencement of the following year?

In all the various constitutions which have been successively adopted in that devoted country, the welfare of the people has been wholly disregarded, and while they have been amused with the shadow of liberty, they have been cruelly deprived of the substance. Even on the establishment of the present constitution, the one which bore the nearest resemblance to a rational system, the freedom of election, which had been frequently proclaimed as the very cornerstone of liberty, was shamefully violated by the legislative body, who, in their eagerness to perpetuate their own power, did not scruple to destroy the principle on which it was founded. Nor is this the only violation of their own principles. A French writer has aptly observed, that "En revolution comme en morale, ce n'est que le premier pas qui compte:" thus the executive, in imitation of the legislative body, seem disposed to render their power perpetual. For though it be expressly declared by the 137th article of the 6th title of their present constitutional code, that the "Directory shall be partially renewed by the election of a new member every year" no step towards such election has been taken, although the time prescribed by the law is elapsed.—In a private letter from Paris now before me, written within these

few days, is the following a 4 obferva obfervation on this very circumftance: " The conftitution has received another blow. The month of Vendemiaire is pair., and our Directors ftill remain the fame. Hence we begin to drop the appellation of Directoryv and fubftitute that of the Cinqvir, who are more to be dreaded for their power, and more to. be detefted for their crimes, than the Decemvir of ancient Rome." The fame letter alfb contains a brief abftract: of the ftate of the metropolis of the French republic, which is wonderfully charaferiftic of the attention of the government to the welfare and happinefs of its inhabitants I f. t.

"The reign of mifery and of crime feems to be perpetuated in this diffracted capital; luicides, pillage, and affaffinations, are daily committed, and are dill luffered to pafs unnoticed. But what renders our fituation ftill more deplorable, is the exiftence of an innumerable band of Ipies, who infeft all public places, and all private focieties. More than a hundred thoufand of thefe men are. regiftered on the books of the modern Sar-and as the population of Paris, at moft, moft, does not exceed fix hundred thoufand fouls, we are fure to find in fix individuals one fpy. This confideration makes me fhud-der, and, accordingly, all confidence, and all the fweets of Ibcial intercourfe, are banifhed from among us. People falute each other, look at each other, betray mutual fufpicions, ob-ferve a profound filence, and part. This, in few words, is an exacl defcription of our modern republican parties. It is faid, that poverty has compelled many refpeandable perfbns, and even Hate-creditors, to enlift under the ftandardof Cociion, (the Police Minhler,) becaufe fuch is the honourable conduct of our fovereigns, that they pay their Jpies in fpecie—and their foldiers, and the creditors of the ftate, in paper.—Such is the morality, fuch the juftice, fuch are the republican virtues, fo loudly vaunted by our good and dearejl friends, our penfioners—the Gazetteers of England and Germany!"

There is not a fmgle abufe, which the modern reformers reprobated fo loudly under the ancient fyftem, that is not magnified, in an infinite degree, under the prefent eftablifh- ment. rment. For one Lettre de Cachet iflued during the mild reign of Louis the Sixteenth, a thoufand Mandats (T Arrtt have been granted by the tyrannical demagogues of the revolution; for one Ba/iile which exifted under the Monarchy, a thoufand Maifons de Detention have been eftablifhed by the Republic. Ift fhort, crimes of every denomination, and? fts of tyranny and injuftice, of every kind, have multiplied, fince the abolition of royalty, in a proportion which fets all the powers of calculation at defiance.

It is fcarcely poffible to notice the prefent Situation of France, without adverting to-the circumftances of the War, and to the attempt now making, through the medium of negoeiation, to bring it to a fpeedy con-clufion. Since the publication of my Letter to a Noble Earl, now deftined to chew the cud of dilappointment in the vale of obfcu-ritv, I have been aftomfhed to hear the fame affertions advanced, by the members and advocates of that party whofe merit is faid to confift in the violence of their oppofition to the meafures of government, on the ori gin of the war, which had experienced thr moil ample confutation, without the afift-. ance of any additional reafbn, and without the fmaueft attempt to expofe the invalidity of thofe proofs which, in my conception,; amounted nearly to mathematical demon-ftration, and which I had dared them, in terms the moft pointed, to invalidate. The queftion of aggreffion before ftood on fuch

high ground, that I had not the presumption to suppose it could derive an accession of strength from any arguments which I could supply; but I was confident, that the authentic documents which I offered to the public would remove every intervening object that tended to obstruct the fight of inattentive observers, and reflect on it such an additional light as would flame instant conviction on the minds of all. It seems, I have been deceived; but I must be permitted to suggest, that men who persist in the renewal of assertions, without a single effort to controvert the proofs which have been adduced to demonstrate their fallacy, cannot have for their object; the establishment of truth—which ought, exclusively, to influence the conduct of public characters, whether writers or orators. —, ir.

“.:”

With regard to the negotiation, I can derive not the smallest hopes of success from a contemplation of the past conduct, or of the present principles, of the government of France. When I compare the projects of aggrandizement openly avowed by the French rulers, previous to the declaration of war against this country, with the exorbitant pretensions advanced in the arrogant reply of the executive Directory to the note presented by the British Envoy at Basil in the month of February, 1796", and with the more recent observations contained in their official note of the 19th of September last, I cannot think it probable that they will accede to any terms of peace that are compatible with the interest and safety of the Allies. Their object is not so much the establishment as the extinction of their republic.

As to the danger to be incurred by a treaty of peace with the republic of France, though it has been considerably diminished by the events of the war, it is still unquestionably great. This danger principally arises from a pertinacious adherence, on the part of the Directory, to those very principles which were adopted by the original promoters of the abolition of Monarchy in France. No greater proof of such adherence need be required than their refusal to repeal those obnoxious decrees (passed in the months of November and December, 1792,) which created so general and so just an alarm throughout Europe, and which excited the reprobation even of that party in England, which was willing to admit the equivocal interpretation given to them by the Executive Council of the day. I proved, in the Letter to a Noble Earl before alluded to, from the very testimony of the members of that Council themselves, as exhibited in their official instructions to one of their confidential agents, that the interpretation which they had assigned to those decrees, in their communications with the British Ministry, was a false interpretation, and that they really intended to enforce the decrees, to the utmost extent of their possible operation, and, by a literal construction thereof, to encourage rebellion in every state within the reach of their arms or their principles. Nor have the present government merely forbore to repeal those definitive laws—they have imitated the conduct of their predecessors, have actually put them in execution wherever they had the ability to do so, and have, in all respects, as far as related to those decrees, adopted the precise spirit and principles of the faction which declared war against England. Let any man read the instructions of the Executive Council to Publicola Chaussard, their Commissioner in the Netherlands, in 1793 and 1794, and an account of the proceedings in the Low Countries consequent thereon, and then examine the conduct of the republican General Buonaparte, in Italy—who

must necessarily a *el* from the instructions of. the Executive Directory—and he will be compelled to acknowledge the justice of my remark, and to admit that the latter are actuated by the same pernicious desire to overturn the settled order of society, which invariably marked the conduct of the former. v " It

It is an acknowledged fact, that every revolution requires a provisional *jx* wer to regulate its disorganizing movements, and to direct the methodical demolition of every part of the ancient social constitution.—Such ought to be the revolutionary power.

"To whom can such power belong, but to the French, in those countries into which they may carry their arms? Can they with safety further it to be exercised by any other persons? It becomes the French republic, then, to assume this kind of" guardianship over the people whom we awaken to Liberty /"

Such were the Lacedemonian principles avowed by the French government in 1792 and such is the Lacedemonian policy pursued by the French government in 1796! It

Confiderations Generales sur l'Esprit et les Principes du Decret du 1^{er} Decembre. P. 184.

If Machiavel justly observes, that it was the narrow policy of the Lacedemonians always to destroy the ancient constitution, and establish their own form of government, in the counties and cities which they subdued.

cannot then, I conceive, be contended, that a treaty with a government still professing principles which have been repeatedly proved to be subversive of all social order, which have been acknowledged by their parents to have for their object: the methodical demolition of existing constitutions, can be concluded without danger or risk. That danger, I admit, is greatly diminished, because the power which was destined to carry into execution those gigantic projects which constituted its object, has, by the operations of the war, been considerably curtailed. The will may exist in equal force, but the ability is no longer the same.

But though I maintain the exigence of danger in a Treaty with the Republic of France, unless we previously repeal the decrees to which I have adverted, and abrogate the aands to which they have given birth, I by no means contend that it exists in such a degree as to justify a determination, on the part of the British government, to make its removal the *jje* *qua*. non of negotiation, or peace. Greatly as I admire the brilliant endowments of Mr. Burke, and highly as I respect and esteem him for the manly and decisive part which he has taken, in opposition to the detraction anarchy of republican France, and in defence of the constitutional freedom of Britain; I cannot either agree

with him on this point, or concur with him in the idea that the restoration of the Monarchy of France was ever the object of the war. That the British Ministers ardently desired that event, and were earnest in their endeavours to promote it, is certain; not because it was the object of the war, but because they considered it as the best means of promoting the object of the war, which was, and is, the establishment of the safety and tranquillity of Europe, on a solid and permanent basis. If that object can be attained, and the republic exist, there is nothing in the past conduct and professions of the British Ministers, that can interpose an obstacle to the conclusion of peace. Indeed, in my apprehension, it would be highly impolitic in any Minister, at the commencement of a war/ to advance any specific object, the attainment of which would be declared

to be Vol. I. b the thefae qua non of peace. If mortals could arrogate to themselves the attributes of the Deity, if they could direct the courfe of events, and controul the chances of war, luch conduct would be juftifiable; but on no other principle, I think, can its defence be undertaken. It is, I grant, much to be lamented that the protection offered to the friends of monarchy in France, by the declaration of the apth of October, 1793, could not be rendered effectual: as far as the offer went it was certainly obligatory on the party who made it; but it was merely conditional—reftricted, as all fimilar offers neceffarily muft be, by the ability to fulfil the obligation incurred.

In paying this tribute to truth, it is not my intention to retract, in the fmalleft degree, the opinion I have ever profefed, that the reftoration of the ancient monarchy of France would be the beft poffible means not only of fecuring the different ftates of Europe from the dangers of republican anarchy, but of promoting the real interefts, welfare, and happinefs of the French people them-V-J. felves.

felves. The reafons on which this opinion is founded I have long fince explained; and the intelligence which I have fince received from France, at different times, has convinced me that a very great proportion of her inhabitants concur in the fentiment.—The miferies refulting from the eftablifhment of a republican fyftem of government have been feverely felt, and deeply deplored; and I am fully perluaded, that the fubjects and tributaries of France will cordially fubfcribe to the following obfervation on republican freedom, advanced by a writer who had deeply ftudied the genius of republics: " Di tutte lefervitu dure, quella 2 durttjima, che tifotto-mette ad una republics; Tuna, perche lapiu durabile, e mancojipuofperarne dufare: Laltre perche il fine delta republica e enervare ed in-debolire, per accrefcere il corpo fuo, tutti gli altrt cor pi."

London, Nov. 12, JOHN GIFFORD.

1796.

P. S. Since I wrote the preceding remarks, I have been given to underftand, that by "a "decree, fubfequent to the completion of the conftitutional code, the firft partial renewal of the Executive Directory was deferred till the month of March, 1797; and that, therefore, in this instance, the prefent Directory cannot be accused of having violated the conftitution. But the guilt is only to be transferred from the Directory to the Convention, who pasTed that decree, as well as fome others, in contradiction to a pofitive conftitutional law.—Indeed, the Directory themfelves betrayed no greater delicacy with regard to the obfervance of the conftitution, or M. B Arras would never have taken his feat among them; for the conftitution exprefsly fays, (and this pofitive provifion was not even modified by any fubfequent mandate of the Convention,) that no man Shall be elected a member of the Directory who has not completed his fortieth year—whereas it is notorious that B Arras had not this requifite qualification, having been born in the year 1758!

Dlfcordi dl Nicoli Machiavelli, Lib. ii. p. 88.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

SIR,

JLT is with extreme diffidence that I offer the following pages to Your notice; yet as they describe circumstances which more than justify Your own prophetic reflections, and are submitted to the public eye from no other motive than a love of truth and my country, I may, perhaps, be excused for presuming them to be not altogether unworthy of such a distinction. t

While Your puny opponents, if opponents they may be called, are either sunk into oblivion, or remembered only as associated with the degrading cause they attempted to support, every true friend of mankind, anticipating

PREFACE.

having, more than once, in the following Letters expressed opinions decidedly unfavourable to female authorship, when not justified by superior talents, I may, by now producing them to the public, subject myself to the imputation either of vanity or inconsistency; and, I acknowledge, that a great share of candour and indulgence must be possessed by readers who attend to the apologies usually made on such occasions: yet I may with the strictest truth alledge, that I could never have ventured to offer any production of mine to the world, had I not conceived it possible that information and reflections collected and made on the spot, during a period when France exhibited a state, of which there is no example in the annals of mankind, might gratify curiosity without the aid of literary embellishment; and an adherence to truth, I b 4 flattered

"m.

flattered myself, might, in a subject; of this nature, be more acceptable than brilliancy of thought, or elegance of language. The eruption of a volcano may be more scientifically described and accounted for by the philosopher; but the relation of the illiterate peasant who beheld it, and Suffered from its effects, may not be less interesting to the common hearer.

Above all, I was actuated by the desire of conveying to my countrymen a just idea of that revolution which they have been incited to imitate, and of that government by which it has been proposed to model our own.

Since these pages were written, the Convention has nominally been dissolved, and a new constitution and government have succeeded, but no real change of principle or actors has taken place; and the system, of which I have endeavoured to trace the progress, must still be considered as existing, with no other variations than such as have been necessarily produced by the difference of time and circumstances. The people grew tired of massacres, of massé, and executions and-tail: even the national fickleness operated in favour of humanity; and it was also discovered, that however a spirit of royalism might be subdued to temporary inaction, it was not to be eradicated, and that the sufferings of its martyrs only tended to propagate and confirm it. Hence the scaffolds flow less frequently with blood, and the barbarous prudence of Camille Desmoulins guillotine économique has been adopted. But exaction and oppression are still practised in every shape, and justice is not less violated, nor is property more secure, than when the former was administered by revolutionary-tribunals, and the latter was at the disposal of revolutionary armies.

The error of supposing that the various parties which have usurped the government of France have differed essentially from each other is pretty general; and it is common

enough to hear the revolutionary tyranny exclusively associated with the perfidy of Robespierre, and the thirty-first of May, 1793 considered as the epoch of its introduction.

Yet whoever examines attentively the situation and politics of France, from the subversion of the Monarchy, will be convinced that all the principles of this monstrous government were established during the administration of the Brutotins, and that the factions which succeeded, from Danton and Robespierre to Sieyès and Barras, have only developed them, and reduced them to practice. The revolution of the thirty-first of May, 1793, was not a contest for system but for power—that of July the twenty-eighth, 1794, (9th Thermidor,) was merely a struggle which of two parties should sacrifice the other—that of October the fifth, 1795, (13th Vendémiaire,) a war of the government against the people. But in all these convulsions, the primitive doctrines of tyranny and injustice were watched like the sacred fire, and have never for a moment been suffered to languish.

It may appear incredible to those who have not personally witnessed this phenomenon, that a government defeated and despised by an immense majority of the nation, mould have been able not only to resist the efforts of so many powers combined against it, but even to proceed from defence to conquest, and to mingle surprise and terror with those sentiments of contempt and abhorrence which it originally excited.

That wisdom or talents are not the sources of this success, may be deduced from the situation of France itself. The armies of the republic have, indeed, invaded the territories of its enemies, but the desolation of their own country seems to increase with every triumph—the genius of the French government appears powerful only in destruction, and inventive only in oppression—and, while it is endowed with the faculty of spreading universal ruin, it is incapable of promoting the happiness of the smallest district under its protection. The unrestrained pillage of the conquered countries has not saved France from multiplied bankruptcies, nor her state-creditors from dying through want; and the French, in the midst of their external prosperity, are often distinguished from the people whom their armies have conquered, only by a superior degree of wretchedness, and a more irregular despotism.

With a power excessive and unlimited, and surpassing what has hitherto been possessed by any Sovereign, it would be difficult to prove that these democratic despots have effected any thing either useful or beneficent. Whatever has the appearance of being so, will be found, on examination, to have for its object some purpose of individual interest or personal vanity. They manage the armies, they embellish Paris, they purchase the friendship of some states and the neutrality of others; but if there be any real patriots in France, how little do they appreciate these useless triumphs, these pilfered museums, and these fallacious negotiations, when they behold the population of their country diminished, its commerce annihilated, its wealth dissipated, its morals corrupted, and its liberty destroyed—

While

While secret flames with unextinguish'd rage

"Infatiate on her wafted entrails prey,

. And melt her treachrous beauties into ruin."

Those efforts which the partizans of "re-publicanism admire, and which even well-disposed persons regard as prodigies, are the simple and natural result of an unprincipled despotism, acting upon, and disposing of, all the resources of a rich, populous, and enslaved nation. " // devient aise d'être babillement s'est délivré des scrupules et des loix, de tout bonneur et de toute justice, des droits de ses semblables, et des devoirs de l'autorité — à ce degré d'indépendance, la plupart des obstacles qui modifient l'activité du Surnaturel disparaissent. J. Von parait avoir du talent lorsqu'on voit que de l'impudence, et l'abus de la force paient pour l'énergie." The operations of all other governments must, in a great measure, be restrained by the will of the people, and by established laws; with them, physical and political force are necessarily separate considerations: they have not only to calculate what can be borne, but what will be submitted to; and perhaps France is the first country that has been compelled to an exertion of its whole strength, without regard to any obstacle, natural, moral, or divine. It is for want of sufficiently investigating and allowing for this moral and political latitudinarianism of our enemies, that we are apt to be too precipitate in censuring the conduct of the war; and in our estimation of what has been done, we pay too little regard to the principles by which we have been directed. An honest man could scarcely imagine the means we have had to oppose, and an Englishman still less conceive that they would have been submitted to; for the same reason that the Romans had no law against parricide, till experience had evinced the possibility of the crime.

In a war like the present, advantage is not altogether to be appreciated by military superiority. If, as there is just ground for believing, our external hostilities have averted an internal revolution, what we have escaped is of infinitely more importance to us than what we could acquire. Commerce or compared to this, are secondary objects; and the preservation of our liberties and our constitution is a more solid blessing than the commerce of both the Indies, or the conquest of nations.

—L. p; "...:.

Should the following pages contribute to impress this salutary truth on my countrymen, my utmost ambition will be gratified; persuaded, that a sense of the miseries they have avoided, and of the happiness they enjoy, will be their best incentive, whether they may have to oppose the arms of the enemy in a continuance of the war, or their more dangerous machinations on the restoration of peace. I cannot conclude without noticing my obligations to the Gentleman whose name is prefixed to these volumes; and I think it at the same time incumbent on me to avow, that in having assisted the author, he must not be considered as sanctioning the literary imperfections of the work. When the subject was first mentioned to him, he did me the justice of supposing, that I was not likely to have written any thing, the general tendency of which he might disapprove; and when, on perusing the manuscript, he found it contain sentiments dissimilar to his own, he was too liberal to require a sacrifice of them as the condition of his services.—I confess that, previous to my arrival in France in 1793, I entertained opinions somewhat more favourable to the principle of the revolution than those which I was led to adopt at a subsequent period. Accustomed to regard with great justice the British constitution as the standard of known political excellence, I hardly conceived it possible that freedom or happiness could exist under any other; and I am not singular in having suffered this prepossession to invalidate even the evidence of my senses. I

was, therefore, naturally partial to whatever professed to approach the object of my veneration. I forgot that governments are not to be founded on imitations or theories, and that they are perfect only as adapted to the genius, manners, and disposition of the people who are subject to them. Experience and maturer judgement have corrected my error, and I am perfectly convinced, that the old monarchical constitution of France, with very slight meliorations, was every way better calculated for the national character than a more popular form of government.

A critic, though not very severe, will discover many faults of style, even where the matter may not be exceptionable. Besides my other deficiencies, the habit of writing is not easily supplied, and, as I despaired of attaining excellence, and was not solicitous about degrees of mediocrity, I determined on conveying to the public such information as I was possessed of, without alteration or ornament. Most of these Letters were written exactly in the situations they describe, and remain in their original state; the rest were arranged according as opportunities were favourable, from notes and diaries kept when "the times were hot and feverish," and when it would have been dangerous to attempt more method. I forbear to describe how they were concealed either in France or at my departure, because I might give rise to the persecution and oppression of others. But, that I may not attri-

Vol. I. contribute to myself courage which I do not possess, nor create doubts of my veracity, I must observe, that I seldom ventured to write till I was assured of some certain means of conveying my papers to a person who could safely dispose of them.

As a considerable period has elapsed since my return, it may not be improper to add, that I took some steps for the publication of these Letters so early as July, 1799. Certain difficulties, however, arising, of which I was not aware, I relinquished my design, and would not have been tempted to resume it, but for the kindness of the Gentleman-whose name appears as the Editor.

Sept. 12,

A RESI-

A

RESIDENCE IN FRANCE.

May, 1792.

I am every day more confirmed in the opinion I communicated to you on my arrival, that the first ardour of the revolution is abated.—The bridal days are indeed past, and I think I perceive something like indifference approaching; Perhaps the French themselves are not sensible of this change; but I who have been absent two years, and have made as it were a sudden transition from enthusiasm to coldness, without passing through the intermediate gradations, am forcibly struck with it. When I was here in 1790, parties could be scarcely said to exist—the popular triumph was too complete and too recent for intolerance and persecution, and the Noblesse and Clergy either submitted in silence, or appeared to rejoice in their own defeat. In fact, it was the confusion of a decisive conquest—the victors and the vanquished were mingled together; and the one had not leisure to exercise cruelty, nor the other to meditate revenge.—Politics had not yet divided society; nor the weakness and pride of the great, nor the malice and insolence of the little, thinned the public places. The politics of the women went no farther than a few couplets in praise of liberty, and

the patriotifm of the men was confined to an habit de garde nationale., the device of a button, or a nocturnal revel, which they called mounting guard.—Money was yet plenty, at leaft filver, (for the gold had already begun to difappear,) commerce in its ufual train, and, in fhort, to one who obferves no deeper than myfelf, every thing feemed gay and flourifhing—the people were perfuaded they were happier; and, amidft fuch an appearance of content, one muft have been a cold politician to have examined too ftrictly into the future. But all this, my good brother, is in a great meafure fubfided; and the difparity is fo evident, that I almoft imagine myfelf one of the feven fleepers—and like them too the coin I offer is become rare, and regarded more as medals than money. The playful diftindtions of Ariftocrate and Democrate are degenerated into the opprobrium and bitternefs of Party—political diffenfions pervade and chill the common intercourfe of life—the people are beji. v grofs grofs and arbitrary, and the higher clafles (from a pride which thofe who confider the frailty of human nature will allow for) defert the public amufements, where they cannot appear but at the rifk of being the marked objects of infult.—The politics of the women are no longer innoxious—their political principles form the leading trait of their characters; and as you know we are often apt to fupply by zeal what we want in power, the ladies are far from being the moft tolerant partizans on either fide.—The national uniform, which contributed fo much to the fuccefs of the revolution, and ftimulated the patriotifm of the young men, is become general; and the tafk of mounting guard, to Xvhich it fubjects the wearer, is now a ferious and troublefome duty.—To finifh my obfervations, and my contraft, no fpecle whatever is to be feen; and the people, if they ftill idolize their new form of government, doit at prefent with great fobriety—the vive la nation! feems now rather the effect of habit than of feeling; and one feldom hears any thing like the fpontaneous and enthufiaftic founds I formerly remarked.

I have not yet been here long enough to dif-cover the caufes of this change; perhaps they may lie too deep for fuch an obferver as myfelf:

Jb a but but if (as the caufes of important effects forne-times do) they lie on the furface, they will be lefs liable to efcape me, than an obferver of more pretentions. Whatever my remarks are, I will not fail to communicate them—the employment will at leaft be agreeable to me, though the refult fhould not be fatisfactory to you; and as I fhall never venture on any reflection, without relating the occurrence that gave rife to it, your own judgement will enable you to correct the errors of mine.

I was prefent yefterday at a funeral fervice, performed in honour of General Dillon. Thefe kind of fervices are common in Catholic countries, and confift in erecting a cenotaph, ornamented with numerous lights, flowers, croffes, andc. The church is hung with black, and the mafs is performed the fame as if the body were prefent. On account of General Dillons profeffion, the mafs yefterday was a military one. It muft always, I imagine, found ftrange to the ears of a Proteftant, to hear nothing but theatrical munc on thefe occafions, and indeed I could never reconcile myfelf to it; for if we allow any effect to mufic at all, the train of thought which fhould infpire us with refpect for the dead, and reflections on mortality, mortality, is not likely to be produced by the ftrains in which Dido bewails Eneas, or in which Armida affails the virtue of Rinaldo.—I fear, that in general the air of an opera reminds the belle of the Theatre where fhe heard it—and, by a natural tranfition, of the beau who attended

her, and the drefs of herfelf and her neighbours. I confefs, this was nearly my own cafe yefterday, on hearing an air from " Sargines;" and had not the funeral oration reminded me, I fhould have forgotten the unfortunate event we were celebrating, and which, for fome days before, when undiftracted by this pious ceremony, I had dwelt on with pity and horror.—Independent of any regret for the

B 3 fate fate of Dillon, who is faid to have been a brave and good officer, I am forry that the firft event of this war fhould be marked by cruelty and licentiousnefs.—Military difcipline has been much relaxed fince the revolution, and from the length of time fince the French have been engaged in a land war, many of the troops muft be without that kind of courage which is the effect of habit. The danger, therefore, of fuffering them to alledge that they are betrayed, whenever they do not choofe to fight, and to excufe their own cowardice by afcribing treachery to their leaders, is incalculable.—Above all, every infraction of the laws in it country juft fuppoing itfelf become free, cannot be too feverely repressed. The National Affembly have done all that humanity could fug-geft—they have ordered the punifhment of the affaffins, and have penfioned and adopted the Generals children. The orator expatiated both on the horror of the act and its confequences, as I mould have thought, with foine ingenuity, had. I not been afured by a brother orator that the whole was " execrable." But I frequently remark, that though a Frenchman may fuppoze

At the firft ffirmifh between the French and Auftri-ans near Lifle, a general panic feized the former, and they retreated in diforder to Lifle, crying "fauve yd feut, and nous Jommcs tralis" The General, after in vain endeavouring. to rally them, was mahacred at his return on the great fquare.—My pen falters, and refufes to defcribe the barbarities committed on the lifelefs hero. Let it fuffice, perhaps more than fuffice, to fay, that his mutilated remains were thrown on a fire, which thefe favages danced round, with yells exprellve of their execrable feftivity. A young Englifhman, who was fo unfortunate as to be near the fpot, was compelled to join in this outrage to humanity.—The fame day a gentleman, the intimate friend of our acquaintance, Mad.—, was walking (unconfcious what had happened) wthout the gate which lead to Douay, and was met by the flying ruffians on tfeir return j immediately on feeing him they fhouted " vpiht encore un Arlftocrate!" apd mallacred him on the fpot.

the the merit of his countrymen to be collectively fuperior to that of the whole world, he fel-dom allows any individual of them to have fo large a portion as himfelf. Adieu: I have already written enough to convince you I have neither acquired the Gallomania, nor forgotten my friends in England; and I conclude with a wifh a propos to my fubject:—that they may long enjoy the rational liberty they poffefs and fo well deferve. Yours.

May.

JI OU, my dear—, who live in a land of pounds, fhillings, and pence, can fcarcely form an idea of our embarraffments through the want of them; Tis true, thefe are petty evils; but when you confider that they happen every day, and every hour, and that, if they are not very ferious, they are very frequent, you will rejoice in the fplendour of your national credit, which procures you all the accommodation of paper currency, without diminifhing the circulation of fpecie. Our only currency here is affignats of 5 livres, 50, 100, 200, and upwards: therefore in making purchafes, you muft

accommodate your wants to the value of B 4 your your assignat, or you must owe the shopkeeper or the shopkeeper must owe you; and, in short, as an old woman assured me to-day, "ceft dand qu'ou faire perdre la tête" and, if it lasted long, it would be the death of her. Within these few days, however, the municipalities have attempted to remedy the inconvenience, by creating small paper of five, ten, fifteen, and twenty fols, which they give in exchange for assignats of five livres; but the number they are allowed to issue is limited, and the demand for them so great, that the accommodation is inadequate to the difficulty of procuring it. On the days on which this paper (which is called *billets de confiance*) is issued, the Hotel de Ville is besieged by a host of women collected from all parts of the district—Payfannes, small shop-keepers, fervant maids, and though last, not least formidable—fishwomen. They usually take their stand two or three hours before the time of delivery, and the interval is employed in discussing the news and execrating paper money. But when once the door is opened, a scene takes place which bids defiance to language, and calls for the pencil of a Hogarth. Babel was, I dare say, comparatively to this, a place of retreat and silence. Clamours, revilings, contentions, tearing of hair, and breaking of heads, generally conclude the business; and after the loss of half a day's time, some part of their clothes, and the expense of a few bruises, the combatants retire with small bills to the value of five, or perhaps ten livres, as the whole resource to carry on their little commerce for the ensuing week. I doubt not but the paper may have had some share in alienating the minds of the people from the revolution. Whenever I want to purchase any "thing, the vender usually answers my question by another, and with a rueful kind of tone enquires, "en papier, madame?"—and the bargain concludes with a melancholy reflection on the hardships of the times.

The decrees relative to the priests have likewise occasioned much disturbance; and it seems to me impolitic thus to have made religion the standard of party. The high mass, which is celebrated by a priest who has taken the oaths, is frequented by a numerous, but, it must be confessed, an ill-dressed and ill-scented congregation; while the low mass, which is later, and which is allowed the nonjuring clergy, has a gay audience, but is much less crowded.—By the way, I believe many who formerly did not much disturb themselves about religious tenets, have become rigid Papists since an adherence heretofore to the holy see has become a criterion of political opinion. But if these separatists are bigoted and obstinate, the conventionists on their side are ignorant and intolerant.

I enquired my way to-day to the Rue de l'Hôpital. The woman I spoke to asked me, in a menacing tone, what I wanted there. I replied, which was true, that I merely wanted to pass through the street as my nearest way home; upon which she lowered her voice, and conducted me very civilly.—I mentioned the circumstance on my return, and found that the nuns of the hospital had their mass performed by a priest who had not taken the oaths, and that those who were suspected of going to attend it were insulted, and sometimes ill treated. A poor woman, some little time ago, who conceived perhaps that her salvation might depend on exercising her religion in the way she had been accustomed to, persisted in going, and was used by the populace with such a mixture of barbarity and indecency, that her life was despaired of. Yet this is the age and the country of Philosophers.—Perhaps you will begin to think Swifts fables,

who only amused themselves with endeavouring to propagate sheep without too not so contemptible, am almost convinced myself, that when a man once piques himself on being philosopher if he does no mischief you ought to be satisfied with him.

We passed last Sunday with Mr. de a tenants in the country. Nothing can equal the avidity of these people for news. We sat down after dinner under some trees in the village, and Mr. de—began reading the Gazette to the farmers who were about us. In a few minutes every thing that could hear (for I leave understanding the pedantry of a French newspaper out of the question) were his auditors. A party at quoits in one field, and a dancing party in another, quitted their amusements, and listened with undivided attention. I believe in general the farmers are the people most contented with the revolution, and indeed they have reason to be so; for at present they refuse to sell their corn unless for money, while they pay their rent in assignats; and farms being for the most part on leases, the objections of the landlord to this kind of payment are of no avail. Great encouragement is likewise held out to them to purchase national property, which I am informed they do to an extent that may for some time be injurious to agriculture; for in their eagerness to acquire land, they deprive themselves of the means of cultivating it. They do not, like our crusading ancestors, "sell the pasture to buy the horse," but the horse to buy the pasture; so that we may expect to see in many places large farms in the hands of those who are obliged to neglect them.

A great change has happened within the last year, with regard to landed property—so much has been sold, that many farmers have had the opportunity of becoming proprietors. The rage of emigration, which the approach of war, pride, timidity, and vanity are daily increasing, has occasioned many of the Noblesse to sell their estates, which, with those of the Crown and the Clergy, form a large mass of property, thrown as it were into general circulation. This may in future be beneficial to the country, but the present generation will perhaps have to purchase (and not cheaply) advantages they cannot enjoy. A philanthropist may not think of this with regret; and yet I know not why one race is preferable to another, or why an evil should be endured by those who exist now, in order that those who succeed may be free from it.—I would willingly plant a million of acorns, that another age might be supplied with oaks; but I confess I do not think it quite so pleasant for us to want bread, in order that our descendants may have a superfluity.

I am half-ashamed of these selfish arguments) but really I have been led to them through mere apprehension of what I fear the people may have yet to endure, in consequence of the revolution.

I have frequently observed how little taste the French have for the country, and I believe all my companions except Mn de, who took (as one always does) an interest in surveying his property were heartily annoyed with our little excursion.—Mad. de—, on her arrival, took her post by the farmers fire-side, and was out of humour the whole day, inasmuch as . . . Our fare was homely, and there was nothing but rustics to see or be seen by. That a plain dinner should be a serious affair, you may not wonder; but the last cause of distress, perhaps you will not conclude quite so natural at her. years. All that can be said about it is, that she is a French woman, who rouges, and wears lilac ribbons, at seventy-four—I hope, in my zeal to obey you, my reflections will not

be too too voluminous.—For the present I will be warned by my confidence, and add only, that I am, Yours

June 10

YOU observe, with some surprize, that I make no mention of the Jacobins—the fact is, that until now I have heard very little about them. Your English partizans of the revolution have, by publishing their correspondence with these societies, attributed a consequence to them infinitely beyond what they have had pretensions to:—a prophet, it is said, is not honoured in his own country—I am sure a Jacobin is not. In provincial towns these clubs are generally composed of a few of the lowest tradesmen, who have so disinterested a patriotism, as to bestow more attention on the state than on their own shops; and as a man may be an excellent patriot without the aristocratic talents of reading and writing, they usually provide a secretary or president, who can supply these deficiencies—a country attorney, a Pere de Lorraine, or a disbanded capuchin, are in most places the candidates for this office. The clubs, often assemble only to read the newspapers; lie down; but where they are sufficiently in force, they make motions for “fêtes,” censure the municipalities, and endeavour to influence the elections of the members who compose them.—That of Paris is supposed to consist of about six thousand members; but I am told their number and influence is daily increasing, and that the National Assembly is more subservient to them than it is willing to acknowledge—yet, I believe, the people at large are equally adverse to the Jacobins, who are said to entertain the chimerical project of forming a republic, and to the aristocrats, who wish to restore the ancient government. The party in opposition to both these, who are called the Feuillans, have the real voice of the people, and knowing this, they employ less art than their opponents, have no point of union, and perhaps may finally be undermined by intrigue, or even subdued by violence. 4

You seem not to comprehend why I include vanity among the causes of emigration, and yet I assure you it has had no small share in many of them. The gentry of the provinces,

They derive this appellation, as the Jacobins do theirs, from the convert at which they hold their meetings.

I am by thus imitating the higher noblesse, imagining they have formed a kind of a common cause which may hereafter tend to equalize the difference of ranks and affiliate them with those they have been accustomed to look up to as their superiors. It is a kind of tone among the women, particularly to talk of their emigrated relations, with an accent more expressive of pride than regret, and which seems to lay claim to distinction rather than pity I must now leave you to contemplate the boasted misfortunes of these belles, that I may join the card party which is their alleviation—Adieu

June 24

YOU have doubtless learned from the public papers the late outrage of the Jacobins, in order to force the King to consent to the formation of an army at Paris, and to sign the decree for banishing the nonjuring clergy. The newspapers will describe to you the procession of the Sans Culottes, the indecency of their banners, and the disorders which were the result—but it is impossible for either them or me to convey an idea of the general indignation excited by these atrocities. Every well-meaning person is grieved for the present, and apprehensive for the future: and I am not without hope,

that this open avowal of the designs of the Jacobins, will Unite the Constitutionalists and Arijlocrates, and that they will join their efforts in defence of the Crown, as the only means of saving both from being overwhelmed by a faction, who are now become too daring to be despised. Many of the municipalities and departments are preparing to address the King, on the fortitude he displayed in this hour of insult and peril.—I know not why, but the people have been taught to entertain a mean opinion of his personal courage; and the late violence will at least have the good effect of undeceiving them. It is certain, that he behaved on this occasion with the utmost coolness; and the Garde Nationale, whose hand he placed on his heart, attested that it had no unusual palpitation.

That the King should be unwilling to sanction the raising of an army under the immediate auspice of the avowed enemies of himself, and of the constitution he has sworn to protect, cannot be much wondered at; and those who know the Catholic religion, and con-

Vol. i. C. I. I find that this Prince is devout, and that he has reason to suspect the fidelity of all who approach him, will wonder still less that he refuses to banish a class of men, whose influence is extensive, and whose interest it is to preserve their attachment to him.

These events have thrown a gloom over private societies; and public amusements, as I observed in a former letter, are little frequented: so that, on the whole, time passes heavily with a people who, generally speaking, have few resources in themselves. Before the revolution, France was at this season a scene of much gaiety. Every village had alternately a sort of Fete, which nearly answers to our Wake—but with this difference, that it was numerously attended by all ranks, and the amusement was dancing instead of wrestling and drinking. Several small fields, or different parts of a large one, were provided with music, distinguished by flags, and appropriated to the several classes of dancers—one for the peasants, another for the bourgeois, and a third for the higher orders. The young people danced beneath the ardour of a July sun, while the old looked on and regaled themselves with beer, cyder, and gingerbread. I was always much pleased with this village festivity: it gratified my mind more than feigned and expensive amusements, because it was general, and within the power of all who chose to partake of it; and the little distinction of rank which was preserved, far from diminishing the pleasure of any, added, I am certain, to the freedom of all. By mixing with those only of her own class, the Payfanne was spared the temptation of envying the pink ribbons of the Bourgeoise, who in her turn was not disturbed by an immediate rivalry with the fast and plumes of the provincial belle. But this custom is now much on the decline. The young women avoid occasions where an inebriated foldier may offer himself as her partner in the dance, and her refusal be attended with insult to herself, and danger to those who protect her; and as this licence is nearly as offensive to the decent Bourgeoise as to the female of higher condition, this sort of fete will soon probably be entirely abandoned.

The people here all dance much better than

The head-dress of the French Payfanne is uniformly a small cap, without ribbon or ornament of any kind, except in that part of Normandy which is called the Pays

de Caux, where the Payfanncs wear a particular kind of head drefs, ornamented with filver.

c 2 thofe thofe of the fame rank in England, but this national accomplifhment is not inftinctive: for though few of the laborious clafs have been taught to read, there are fcarcely any fo poor as not to beftow three livres for a quarters in-ftuction from a dancing matter; and with this three months noviciate they become qualified to dance through the reft of their lives.

The rage for emigration, and the approach of the Auftrians have occafioned many reftrictions on travelling, efpecially near the fea-coaft or frontiers. No perfon can pafs through a town without a paffport from the municipality he refides in, fpecifying his age, the place of his birth, his deftination, the height of his perfon, and the features of his face. The

Marquis de C entered the town yefter-day, and at the gate prefented his paffport as ufual: the guard looked at the paffport, and in a high tone demanded his name, whence he came, and where he was going. M. de C referred him to the paffport, and fufpecting the man could not read, perfifted in refuting to give a verbal account of himfelf, but with much civility prefled the perufal of the paffport; adding, that if it was informal, Monfieur might write to the municipality that granted it. The man, man, however, did not approve of the jeft, and took the Marquis before the municipality, who fentenced him to a months imprifonment for his pleafantry.

The French are becoming very grave, and a bon-mot will not now, as formerly, fave a mans life.—I do not remember to have feen in any Englifh print an anecdote on this fubject:, which at once marks the levity of the Parifians, and the wit and prefence of mind of the Abbe Maury.—At the beginning of the revolution, when the people were very much incenfed againft the Abbe, he was one day, on quitting the Aflembly, furrounded by an enraged mob, who feized on him, and were hurrying him away to execution, amidft the univerfal cry of a la lanterns! a la lanterns! The Abbe, with much coolnefs and good humour, turned to thofe neareft him, " Eh bien mes amis et quand je. ferois a la lanterne, en verriez vous plus clair?" Thofe who held him were difarmed, the bon-mot flew through the croud, and the Abbe elcaped while they were applauding it. I have nothing to offer after this trait which is worthy of fucceeding it, but will add that I ant always Yours.

c 3 Our

July 24.

revolution-sera has paffed tranquilly in the provinces, and with lefs turbulence at Paris than was expected. I confign to the Gazette-writers thofe long defcriptions that defcribe nothing, and leave the mind as unfatisfied as the eye. I content myfelf with obferving only, that the ceremony here was gay, impreffive, and animating. I indeed have often remarked, that the works of nature are better defcribed than thofe of art. The fcenes of nature, though varied, are uniform; while the productions of art are fubject to the caprices of whim, and the viciffitudes of tafte. A rock, a wood, or a valley, however the fcenery may be diver-fified, always conveys a perfect and durr. inct image to the mind; but a temple, an altar, a palace, or a pavilion, requires a detail, minute even to tediousnefs, which, after all, gives but an imperfect notion of the object. I have as often read defcriptions of the Vatican, as of the Bay of Naples; yet I recollect

little of the former, while the latter seems almost familiar to me.—Many are strongly impressed with the scenery of Milton's Paradise, who have but confused ideas of the splendour of Pandemonium.

The descriptions, however, are equally minute, and the poetry of both is beautiful.

But to return to this country, which is not absolutely a Paradise, and I hope will not become a Pandemonium—the ceremony I have been alluding to, though really interesting, is by no means to be considered as a proof that the ardour for liberty increases: on the contrary, in proportion as these fetes become more frequent, the enthusiasm which they excite seems to diminish. "For ever mark, Lucilius, when Love begins to sicken and decline, it useth an enforced ceremony." When there were no federations, the people were more united. The planting trees of liberty seems to have damped the spirit of freedom; and since there has been a decree for wearing: the national colours,

they are more the marks of obedience than proofs of affection.—I cannot pretend to decide whether the leaders of the people find their followers less warm than they were, and think it necessary to simulate them by these shows, or whether the shows themselves, by too frequent repetition, have rendered the people indifferent about the objects of them.—Perhaps both these suppositions are true. The French are volatile and material; they are not very capable of attachment to principles. External objects are requisite for them, even in a slight degree; and the momentary enthusiasm that is obtained by affecting their senses subsides with the conclusion of a favourite air, or the end of a gaudy procession.

The Jacobin party are daily gaining ground; and since they have forced a ministry of their own on the King, their triumph has become still more insolent and decisive.—A storm is said to be hovering over us, which I think of with dread, and cannot communicate with safety—"Heaven square the trial of those who are implicated, to their proportioned strength!" Adieu.

August 4.

Must repeat to you, that I have no talent for description; and, having seldom been able to profit by the descriptions of others, I am modest enough not willingly to attempt one myself. But, as you observe, the ceremony of a federation, though familiar to me, is not so to my English friends; I therefore obey your commands, though certain of not succeeding so as to gratify your curiosity in the manner you too partially expect.

The temple where the ceremony was performed, was erected in an open space, well chosen both for convenience and effect. In a large circle on this spot, twelve posts, between fifty and sixty feet high, were placed at equal distances, except one larger, opening in front by way of entrance. On each alternate post were fastened ivy, laurel, andc. so as to form a thick body which entirely hid the support. These greens were then thorn (in the manner you see in old fashioned gardens) into the form of Doric columns, of dimensions proportioned to their height. The intervening posts were covered with white cloth, which was so artificially folded, as exactly to resemble fluted pilasters—from the bases of which ascended spiral wreaths of flowers. The whole was connected—at top by a bold festoon of foliage, and the capital of each column was surmounted by a vase of white lilies. In the middle of this temple was placed an

altar, hung round with lilies, and on it was deposed the book of the constitution. The approach to the altar was by a large flight of steps, covered with beautiful tapestry.

All

All this having been arranged and decorated, (a work of several days,) the important sera was ushered in by the firing of cannon, ringing of bells, and an appearance of bustle and hilarity not to be seen on any other occasion. About ten, the members of the district, the municipality, and the judges in their habits of ceremony, met at the great church, and from thence proceeded to the altar of liberty. The troops of the line, the Garde Nationale of the town, and of all the surrounding communes, then arrived, with each their respective music and colours, which (reserving one only of the latter to distinguish them in the ranks) they planted round the altar. This done, they retired, and, forming a circle round the temple, left a large intermediate space free. A mass was then celebrated with the most perfect order and decency, and at the conclusion were read the rights of man and the constitution. The troops, Garde Nationale, andc. were then addressed by their respective officers, the oath to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the King, was administered: every sword was drawn, and every hat waved in the air; while all the bands of music joined in the favourite strain of *ça ira*.—This was followed by crowning, with the civic wreaths hung round the altar, a number of people, people, who during the year had been instrumental in saving the lives of their fellow-citizens that had been endangered by drowning or other accidents. This honorary reward was accompanied by a pecuniary one, and a fraternal embrace from all the constituted bodies. But this was not the gravest part of the ceremony. The magistrates, however upright, were not all graceful, and the people, though they understood the value of the money, did not that of the civic-wreaths, or the embraces; they therefore looked vacant enough during this part of the business, and grinned most facetiously when they began to examine the appearance of each other in their oaken crowns, and, I dare say, thought the whole comical enough.—This is one trait of national pedantry. Because the Romans awarded a civic wreath for an act of humanity, the French have adopted the custom; and decorate thus a soldier or a sailor, who never heard of the Romans in his life, except in extracts from the New Testament at mass.

But to return to our fête, of which I have only to add, that the magistrates departed in the order they observed in coming, and the troops and Garde Nationale filed off with their hats in the air, and with universal acclamations, to the sound of *ça ira*.—Things of this kind are not susceptible of description. The detail may be uninteresting, while the general effect may have been impressive. The spirit of the scene I have been endeavouring to recall seems to have evaporated under my pen; yet to the spectator it was gay, elegant, and imposing. The day was fine, a brilliant sun glittered on the banners, and a gentle breeze gave them motion; while the satisfied countenances of the people added spirit and animation to the whole.

I must remark to you, that devots, and determined aristocrats, never attend on these occasions. The piety of the one is shocked at a mass by a priest who has taken the oaths, and the pride of the other is not yet reconciled to confusion of ranks and popular festivities. I asked a woman who brings us fruit every day, why she had not come on the fourteenth as usual. She told me she did not come to the town, a cause de la federation—vous etes aristocrate donc?—Ah, *mon Dieu non—ce n'est pas que je*

fuis arijlocrate, ou democrats, mais que jefuis Cbretienns" This is an instance, among many others I could produce, that our legislators have been wrong, in connecting any change of the national religion with the revolution. I am

every day convinced, that this and the assignats are the great causes of the alienation visible in many who were once the warmest patriots.

Adieu: do not envy us our fetes and ceremonies, while you enjoy a constitution which requires no oath to make you cherish it; and a national liberty, which is felt and valued without the aid of extrinsic decoration. Yours.

August 15.

JL HE confirmation and horror of which I have been partaker, will more than apologize for my silence. It is impossible for any one, however unconnected with the country, not to feel an interest in its present calamities, and to regret them. I have little courage to write even now, and you must pardon me if my letter should bear marks of the general depression. All but the faction are grieved and indignant at the King's deposition; but this grief is without energy, and this indignation silent. The partisans of the old government, and the friends of the new, are equally enraged; but they have no union, are suspicious of each other, and are sinking under the stupor of despair, when they should be preparing for revenge.—It would not

be easy to describe our Situation during the last week. The ineffectual efforts of La Fayette, and the violences occasioned by them, had prepared us for something still more serious. On the ninth, we had a letter from one of the representatives for this department, strongly expressive of his apprehensions for the morrow, but promising to write if he survived it. The day, on which we expected news, came, but no post, no papers, no diligence, nor any means of information. The succeeding night we sat up, expecting letters by the post: still, however, none arrived; and the courier only passed hastily through, giving no detail, but that Paris was a feu et a Jang. At length, after passing two days and nights in this dreadful suspense, we received certain intelligence which even exceeded our fears.—It is needless to repeat the horrors that have been perpetrated. The accounts must, ere now, have reached you. Our representative, as he seemed to expect, was so ill treated as to be unable to write: he was one of those who had voted the approval of La Fayette's conduct—all of whom were either massacred, wounded, or intimidated; and, by this means, a majority was procured to vote the deposition of the King. The party allow, by their own accounts, eight thousand persons to have perished on this occasion; but the number is supposed to be much more considerable. No papers are published at present except those whose editors, being members of the Assembly, and either agents or instigators of the massacres, are, of course, interested in concealing or palliating them.—Mr. de has just now taken up one of these atrocious journals, and exclaims, with tears starting from his eyes, "on a abattu la statue Henri quatorze The sacking of Rome by the Goths offers no picture equal to the licentiousness and barbarity committed in a country which calls itself the most enlightened in Europe.—But, instead of recording these horrors, I will fill up my paper with the Chœur Bearnais. It was published sometime ago in a periodical periodical work, (written with great spirit and talents,) called "The Acts of the Apostles,"

Chœur Bearnais.

"Un troubadour Bearnais,

"Les yeux inondés de larmes,
 "A fes montagnards
 "Chantoit ce refrain fourcé d'alarmes—
 "Louis le fils d'Henri
 "Est prisonnier dans Paris!
 "Il a tremblé pour les jours
 "De sa compagne chérie
 "Qui n'a trouvé de secours
 "Que dans sa propre énergie;
 "Elle fuit le fils d'Henri
 "Dans les prisons de Paris.
 and,
 "quel crime ont ils donc commis
 "Pour être enchaînés de même?
 "Du peuple ils font les amis,
 "Le peuple veut il qu'on l'aime,
 "Quand il met le fils d'Henri
 "Dans les prisons de Paris?
 "Le Dauphin, ce fils chéri,
 "Qui seul fait notre espérance,
 "De pleurs fera donc nourri;
 "Les Berceaux qu'on donne en France
 "Aux enfans de notre Henri
 "Sont les prisons de Paris.
 "Il a vu couler le sang
 "De ce garde fidèle,
 "Qui vient offrir en mourant
 "Aux Français un beau modèle;
 "Mais Louis le fils d'Henri
 "Est prisonnier dans Paris.
 "Il ne fit trifle appareil
 "Qui du respect nous dégage,
 "Les feux ardents du Soleil
 "Savent percer le nuage:
 "Le prisonnier de Paris
 "Est toujours le fils d'Henri.
 "Français, trop ingrats Français
 "Rendez le Roi à sa compagne,
 "C'est le bien du Bearnais,
 "C'est l'enfant de la Montagne;

and; I believe, has not yet appeared in England. The situation of the King gives a peculiar interest to these lanzas, which, merely as a poetical composition, are very beautiful. I have often attempted to translate them, but have always found it impossible to preserve the effect and simplicity of the original. They are set to a little plaintive air very happily characteristic of the words;

Perhaps I fhall not write to you again from hence, as we depart for A on Tuefday next.

A change of feene will diffipate a little the ferioufnefs we have contracted during the late

"Le bonheur qu avoit Henri
Nous lafturons a Louis.

"Chez vous l homme a de fes droits
"Rccouvre le noble ufage,
"Et vous oppri mez vos rois,
"Ah! quel injufte partage!
Le peuple ell libre et Louis
"Eft prifonnier dans Paris.

"Au pied de ce monument
"Ou le bon Henri refpire
"Pourquoi l airain foudroyant?
"Ah l on veut qu Henri confpire
"Lui meme contre Ion fils
"Dans les prlfons de Paris."

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events. If I were determined to indulge grief or melancholy, I would never remove from the fpot where I had formed the refolution. Mart is a proud animal even when oppreffed by mif-fortune. He feeks for his tranquillity in reafon and reflection; whereas, a poft-chaise and four, or even a hard-trotting horfe, is worth all the philofophy in the world.—But if, as I obferved before, one is determined againft confolation, one cannot do better than ftay at home, and reafon and philofophize.

Adieu:—the fituation of my friends in this country makes me think of England with plea-fure and refpect; and I fhall conclude with a very homely couplet, which, after all the fafhionable liberality of modern traveller contains a great deal of truth:

"Araongft mankind
"We neer ftiall find
"The worth we left at home."

Yours, Sec.

THE Auguft 22.

JL HE hour is paff, in which, if the Kings friends had exerted themfelves, they might have procured a movement in his favour. The people were at firft amazed, then grieved; but the national philofophy already begins to operate, and they will fink into indifference, till again awakened by fome new calamity. The leaders of the faction do not, however, entirely depend either on the fupinenefs of their adverfaries, or the fubmiffion of the people. Money is diftributed arhongft the idle and indigent, and agents are nightly employed in the public houfes to comment on newfpapers, written for the purpofe to blacken the King and exalt the patriotifm of the party who have dethroned him. Much ufe haslikewife been made of the advances of. the Pruffians towards Champagne, and the ufual mummery of ceremony has not been wanting. Robefpierre, in a burft of extemporary energy, prevlou/ly ftudied, has declared the country in danger. The declaration. has been echoed by all the departments, and

proclaimed to the people with much solemnity. We were not behind hand in the ceremonial of the buffets, though, somehow, the effect was not so serious and imposing as one could have

On a wished on such an occasion. A smart flag, with the words "Citizens, the country is in danger," was prepared; the judges and the municipality were in their costume, the troops and Garde Nationale under arms, and an orator, surrounded by this cortege, harangued in the principal parts of the town on the text of the banner which waved before him.

All this was very well; but, unfortunately, in order to distinguish the orator amidst the crowd, it was determined he should harangue on horseback.—Now here arose a difficulty which all the ardour of patriotism was not able to surmount; The French are in general but indifferent equestrians; and it so happened that, in our municipality, those who could speak could not ride, and those who could ride could not speak. At length, however, after much debating, it was determined that arms should yield to the gown, or, rather, the horse to the orator—with this precaution, that the mount should be properly secured, by an attendant to hold the bridle. Under this safeguard, the rhetorician issued forth, and the first part of the speech was performed without accident; but when, by way of relieving the declaimer, the whole military band began to flourish a *ira*—the horse, even more patriotic than his rider, curvetted and twisted with so much animation, that however the spectators might be delighted, the orator was far from participating in their satisfaction. After all this, the speech was to be finished, and the silence of the music did not immediately tranquilize the animal. The orator's eye wandered from the paper that contained his speech, with wistful glances towards the mane; the fervor of his indignation against the Austrians was frequently calmed by the involuntary friskings he was obliged to submit to; and at the very crisis of the emphatic declaration, he seemed much less occupied by his country's danger than his own.—The people, who were highly amused, I dare say, conceived the whole ceremony to be a rejoicing, and at every repetition that the country was in danger, joined with great glee in the chorus of *a ira*. Many of the spectators, I believe, had for some time been convinced of the danger that threatened the country, and did not suppose it

The oration consisted of several parts, each ending with 3 kind of burden of "Citoyens la patrie est en danger;" and the arrangers of the ceremony had not selected appropriate music: so that the band, who had been accustomed to play nothing else on public occasions, struck up *a ira* at every declaration that the country was in danger!

Some were much incensed by the events of the war; others were pleased with a show, without troubling themselves about the occasion of it; and the mass, except when roused to attention by their favourite air, or the exhibitions of the equestrian orator, looked on with vacant stupidity.—This tremendous flag is now suspended from a window of the Hotel de Ville, where it is to remain until the inscription it wears shall no longer be true; and I heartily wish, the distresses of the country may not be more durable than the texture on which they are proclaimed.

Our journey is fixed for to-morrow, and all the morning has been passed in attendance for our passports.—This affair is not so quickly dispatched as you may imagine. The French are, indeed, said to be a very lively people, but we mistake their volubility

for vivacity; for in their public offices, their fhops, and in any tranf-aclion of bufinefs, no people on earth can be more tedious—they are flow, irregular, and loquacious; and a retail Englifh Quaker, with all his formalities, would difpofe of half his flock in lefs time than you can purchafe a three fols ftamp from a brisk French Commis. You may therefore conceive, that this official por- traiture traiture of fo many females was a work of time, and not very pleafant to the originals. The delicacy of an Englifhman may be fhocked at the idea of examining and regiftering a ladys features one after another, like the articles of a bill of lading; but the cold and fyftematic gallantry of a Frenchman is not fo fcrupulous.—The officer, however, who is employed for this purpofe here, is civil, and I fufpected the infinity of my nofe, and the acutenefs of Mad.

de s chin, might have difconcerted him; but he extricated himfelf very decently. My nofe is enrolled in the order of aquilines, and the old ladys chin pared off to a "menton un peu poiniu"

The carriages are ordered for feven to-morrow. Recollecl, that feven females, with all their appointments, are to occupy them, and then calculate the hour I fhall begin increafing my diftance from England and my friends. I fhall not do it without regret; yet perhaps you will be lefs inclined to pity me than the unfortunate wights who are to efport us. A journey of an hundred miles, with French horfes, French carriages, French harnefs, and fuch an unreafonable female charge, is, I confefs, in great humility, not to be ventured on with

out a moft determined patience.—I fhall write to you on our arrival at Arras; and am, till then, at all times, and in all places, Yours.

Hefdia.

E arrived here laft night, notwithstanding the difficulties of our firft fetting out, in tolerable time; but I have gained fo little in point of repofe, that I might as well have continued my journey. We are lodged at an inn which, though large and the beft in the town, is fo dif-guftingly filthy, that I could not determine to undrefs myfelf, and am now up and fcribbling, till my companions fhall be ready. Our embarkatlon will, I forefee, be a work of time and labour; for my friend, Mad. de, befides the ufual attendants on a French woman, a femme de chambre and a lap dog, travels with feveral cages of canary birds, fome pots of curious exotics, and a favourite cat; all of which muft be difpofed of fo as to produce no intef-tine commotions during the journey. Now if you connder the nature of thefe fellow-travellers, you will allow it not fo eafy a matter as may at firft be fuppofed, efpecially as their fair miftrefs will hot allow any of them to be placed in an

Other other carriage than her own.—A fray happened yefterday between the cat and the dog, during which the birds were overfet, and plants broken.

Poor M. de, with a fort of rueful good nature, feparated the combatants, reftored order, and was obliged to purchafe peace by charging himfelf with the care of the aggreffor.

I fhould not have dwelt fo long on thefe trifling occurrences, but that they are charadter-iftic. In England, this paffion for animals is chiefly confined to old maids, but here it is general. Almoft every woman, however numerous her family, has a nurfery of birds, an angola, and two or three lap dogs, who fhare her cares with her

husband and children. The dogs have all romantic names, and are enquired after with so much solicitude when they do not make one in a visit, that I was some time before I discovered that Nina and Rosine were not the young ladies of the family. I do not remember to have seen any husband, however master of his house in other respects, daring enough to displace a favourite animal, even though it occupied the only vacant fauteuil.

The entrance into Artois from Picardy, though confounded by the new division, is sufficiently distinctly marked by a higher cultivation, and a more fertile soil. The whole country we have parted is agreeable, but uniform; the roads are good, and planted on each side with trees, mostly elms, except here and there some rows of poplar or apple. The land is all open, and sown in divisions of corn, carrots, potatoes, tobacco, and poppies—of which last they make a coarse kind of oil for the use of painters. The country is entirely flat, and the view every where bounded by woods interspersed with villages, whose little spires peeping through the trees have a very pleasing effect.

The people of Artois are said to be highly superstitious, and we have already passed a number of small chapels and crosses, erected by the roadside, and surrounded by tufts of trees. These are the inventions of a mistaken piety; yet are they not entirely without their use, and I cannot help regarding them with more complacency than a rigid Protestant might think allowable. The weary traveller here finds refreshment from a mid-day sun, and relaxes his mind while he refreshes his body. The glittering equipage rolls by—he recalls the painful steps he has past, anticipates those which yet remain, and perhaps is tempted to repine; but when he turns his eye on the cross of Him who has promised a recompence to the sufferers of this world, he checks the sigh of envy, forgets the luxury which excited it, and pursues his way with resignation. The Protestant religion proscribes, and the character of the English renders unnecessary, these feeble objects of devotion; but I have been always of opinion, that the levity of the French in general would make them incapable of persevering in a form of worship equally abstracted and rational. The Spaniards, and even the Italians, might abolish their crosses and images, and yet preserve their Christianity; but if the French ceased to be bigots, they would become atheists.

This is a small fortified town, though not of strength to offer any resistance to artillery. Its proximity to the frontier, and the dread of the Austrians, make the inhabitants very patriotic. We were surrounded by a great crowd of people on our arrival, who had some suspicion that we were emigrating; however, as soon as our passports were examined and declared legal, they retired very peaceably.

The approach of the enemy keeps up the spirit of the people, and, notwithstanding their dissatisfaction, dissatisfaction at the late events, they have not yet felt the change of their government sufficiently to desire the invasion of an Austrian army. Every village, every cottage, hailed us with the cry of *à la nation!* The cabaret invites you to drink beer *à la nation*, and offers you lodging *à la nation*—the chandler's shop sells you snuff and hair powder *à la nation*—and there are even patriotic barbers whose signs inform you, that you may be shaved and have your teeth drawn *à la nation!* These are articles of patriotism one cannot reasonably object to; but the frequent and tedious examination of ones' passports by people who cannot read, is not quite so inoffensive, and I sometimes lose my patience. A very vigilant Garde Nationale

yef-terday, after fpelling my paffport over for ten minutes, objected that it was not a good one. J maintained that it was; and feeling a momentary importance at the recollection of my country, added, in an afluring tone, " et (Tailleurs je. ms Anglaife et par confequent Hire (Taller oa-bon nipfemble" The man ftared, but admitted. my argument, and we paffed on.

My room door is half open, and gives me a proppec! into that of Mad. de L, which is on the oppofite fide of the paffage. She his not hot yet put on her cap, but her grey hair is profufely powdered; and with no other garments than a fhort under petticoat and a corfet, fhe ftands for the edification of all who pafs, putting on her rouge with a ftick and a bundle of cotton tied to the end of it.—All travellers agree in defcribing great indelicacy to the French women; yet I have feen no accounts which exaggerate it, and fcarce any that have not been more favourable than a ftrict adherence to truth might juftify. This inattradlive part of the female national character is not confined to the lower or middling claffes of life; and an Englifh woman is as likely to be put to the blufh in the boudoir of a Marquife, as in the fhop of the grifette, which lerves alfo for her dreffing room.

If I am not too idle, or too much amufed, you will foon be informed of my arri ral at Arras; but though I mould neglect to write, be perfuaded I fhall never ceafe to be, with affection and efteem, Yours, andc.

The

Arras, Augutt.

JL H E appearance of Arras is not bufy in proportion to its population, becaufe its population is not equal to its extent; and as it is a large, without being a commercial town, it rather offers a view of the tranquil enjoyment of wealth, than of the bufle and activity by which it is procured. The ftreets are moftly narrow and ill paved and the fhops look heavy and mean; but the hotels, which chiefly occupy the low town, are large and numerous. What is called la Petite Place, is really very large, and fmall only in comparifon of the great one, which, I believe, is the largeft in France. It is, indeed, ahimmenfe quadrangle—the houfes are in the Spanifh form, and it has an arcade all round it. The Spaniards, by whom it was built, forgot, probably, that this kind of flicker would not be fo defirable here as in their own climate. The manufacture of tapeftry, which a fingle line of Shakfpeare has immortalized, and affociated with the mirthful image of his fat Knight, has fallen into decay. The manufactures of linen and woollen are but in-confiderable; and one, which exifted till lately, of a very durable porcelain, is totally neglected. The principal article of commerce is lace., lace, which is made here in great quantities. The people of all ages, from five years old to feventy, are employed in this delicate fabrick. In fine weather you will fee whole ftreets lined with females, each with her cufhion on her lap. The people of Arras are uncommonly dirty, and the lacemakers do not in this matter differ from their fellow citizens; yet at the door of a houfe, which, but for the furrounding ones, you would fuppofe the common receptacle of all the filth in the vicinage, is often feated a female arti-zan, whose fingers are forming a point of un-blemifhed whitenefs. It is inconceivable how faft the bobbins move under their hands; and they feem to beftow fo little attention on their work, that it looks more like the amufement of idlenefs than an effort of induftry. I am no judge of the arguments of philofophers and politicians for and againft the ufe

of luxury in a state; but if it be allowable at all, much maybe said in favour of this pleasing article of it. Children may be taught to make it at a very early age, and they can work at home under the inspection of their parents, which is certainly preferable to crowding together in manufactories, where their health is injured, and their morals are corrupted.

By requiring no more implements than about five shillings will purchase, a lace-maker is not dependent on the shopkeeper, nor the head of a manufactory. All who choose to work have it within their own power, and can dispose of the produce of their labour, without being at the mercy of an avaricious employer; for though a tolerable good workwoman can gain a decent livelihood by selling to the shops, yet the profit of the retailer is so great, that if he rejected a piece of lace, or refused to give a reasonable price for it, a certain sale would be found with the individual consumer: and it is a proof of the independence of this employ, that no one will at present dispose of her work for paper, and it still continues to be paid for in money. Another argument in favour of encouraging lace-making is, that it cannot be usurped by men: you may have men-milliners, men-man-tuamakers, and even ladies valets, but you cannot well fashion the clumsy and inflexible fingers of man to lace-making. We import great quantities of lace from this country, yet I imagine we might, by attention, be enabled to supply other countries, instead of purchasing abroad ourselves. The art of spinning is daily improving in England; and if thread sufficiently fine can be manufactured, there is no reason why we should not equal our neighbours in the beauty of this article. The hands of English women are more delicate than those of the French; and our climate is much the same as that of Brussels, Arras, Lille, andc. where the finest lace is made.

The population of Arras is estimated at about twenty-five thousand souls, though many people tell me it is greater. It has, however, been lately much thinned by emigration, suppression of convents, and the decline of trade, occasioned by the absence of so many rich inhabitants.—The Jacobins are here become very formidable: they have taken possession of a church for their meetings, and, from being the ridicule, are become the terror of all moderate people.

Yesterday was appointed for taking the new oath of liberty and equality. I did not see the ceremony, as the town was in much confusion, and it was deemed unsafe to be from home. I understand it was attended only by the very refuse of the people, and that, as a gallant's analogue, the president of the department gave his arm to Madame Duchene, who sells apples in a cellar, and is President of the Jacobin

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club. It is, however, reported to-day, that she is in disgrace with the society for her conduct; and her parading the town with a man of forty thousand livres a year is thought to be too great a compliment to the aristocracy of riches; so that Monsieur le President's political gallantry has availed him nothing. He has debased, and made himself the ridicule of the Aristocrats and Constitutionalists, without paying his court, as he intended, to the popular faction. I would always wish it to happen to those who offer up incense to the mob. As human beings, as one's fellow creatures, the poor and uninformed have a claim to our affection and benevolence, but when they become legislators, they are absurd and contemptible tyrants.—A propos—we were

obliged to acknowledge this new fove-reignty by illuminating the houfe on the occafion; and this was not ordered by nocturnal vociferation, as in England, but by a regular command from an officer deputed for that pur-pofe.

I am concerned to fee the people accuftomed to take a number of incompatible oaths with indifference: it neither will nor can come to any good; and I am ready to exclaim with Juliet, "Swear not at all." Or, if ye muft fwear, fwear, quarrel not with the Pope, that your confciences may at leaft be relieved by difpen-fations and indulgences.

To-morrow we go to Lifle, notwithstanding the report that it has already been fummoned to furrender. You will fcarcely fuppofe it poffible, yet we find it difficult to learn the certainty of this, at the diftance of only thirty miles: but communication is much lefs frequent and eafy here than in England. I am not one of thofe unfortunate women who delight in war;" and, perhaps, the fight of this place, fo famous for its fortifications, will not be very amufing to me, nor furnifh much matter of communication for my friends; but I fhall write, if it be only to affure you that I am not made prize of by the Auftrians. Yours, andc.

. Lifle, Auguft:

YOU reftlefs inlanders, who are continually racking imagination to perfect the art of moving from one place to another, and who can drop afleep in a carriage and wake at an hundred miles diftance, have no notion of all the difficulties of a days journey here. In the firft E a place place, all the horfes of private perfons have been taken for the ufe of the army, and thofe for hire are constantly employed in going to the camp—hence there is a difficulty of horfes. Then a French carriage is never in order, and in France a job is not to be done juft when you want it—fo that there is often a difficulty of vehicles. Then there is the difficulty of paff-ports, and the difficulty of gates, if you want to depart early. Then the difficulties of patching harnefs on the road, and, above all, the inflexible fangfroid of drivers. All thefe things confidered, you will not wonder that we came here a day after we intended, and arrived at night, when we ought to have arrived at noon. The carriage wanted a trifling repair, and we could get neither paffports nor horfes. The horfes were gone to the army, the municipality to the club, and the blackfmith was employed at the barracks in making a patriotic harangue to the foldiers.—But we at length furmounted all thefe obftacles, and reached this place laft night.

The road between Arras and Lifle is equally rich with that we before paffed, but is much more diverfified. The plain of Lens is now fuch a fcene of fertility, that one forgets it has once been that of wgr and carnage. We endeavoured endeavoured to learn in the town whereabouts the column was erected that commemorates that famous battle, but no one feemed to know any thing of the matter. One, who, we flattered ourfelves, looked more intelligent than the reft, and whom we fuppofed might be an attorney, upon being afked for this fpot,—(where, added Mr. de, by way of affift- ing his memory, le Prince de Conde feil battu Ji hen,)—replied, " Pour la lattaille je nenfais rien, mais pour le Prince de Conde il y a deja quelque terns qriileft emigrt—on le dit a Coblentz." After this we thought it in vain to make any farther enquiry, and continued our walk about the town.,

Mr. P, who, according to French custom, had not breakfasted, took a fancy to stop at a bakers shop and buy a roll. The man bestowed so much more civility on us than our two fellows were worth, that I observed, on quitting the shop, I was sure he must be an Aristocrat. Mr. P, who is a warm Constitutional, disputed the justice of my inference, and we agreed to return, and learn the bakers political principles. After asking for 1648.

E 3. more more rolls, we accosted him with the usual phrase, "Ei vozts, Moniteur, votiez bon patriote"—"Ah man Dieu oui, (replied he) il faut bien être apaisé"—Mr. P admitted the mans tone of voice and countenance as good evidence, and acknowledged I was right.—It is certain that the French have taken it into their heads that coarseness of manners is a necessary consequence of liberty, and that there is a kind of Uze nation in being too civil; so that, in general, I think I can discover the principles of shopkeepers, even without the indications of a melancholy mien at the assignats, or lamentations on the times.

The new doctrine of primeval equality has already made some progress. At a small inn at Carvin, where, upon the assurance that they had every thing in the world, we stopped to dine, on my observing they had laid more covers than were necessary, the woman answered, "Et les domestiques, ne dinent Us f s f We told her not with us., and the plates were taken away; but we heard her muttering in the kitchen that she believed we were aristocrats going to emigrate. She might imagine at least that we were difficult to satisfy, for we found it impossible to dine, and left the house hungry, notwithstanding there was "every thing in the world" in it.

On the road between Carvin and Lille we saw Dumourier, who is going to take the command of the army, and has now been visiting the camp of Maulde. He appears to be under the middle size, about fifty years of age, with a brown complexion, dark eyes, and an animated countenance. He was not originally distinguished either by birth or fortune, and has arrived at his present situation by a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances, by great and various talents, much address, and a spirit of intrigue. He is now supported by the prevailing party, and, I confess, I could not regard with much complacency a man, whom the machinations of the Jacobins had forced into the ministry, and whose hypocritical and affected resignation has contributed to deceive the people, and ruin the King.

Lille has all the air of a great town, and the mixture of commercial industry and military occupation gives it a very gay and populous appearance. The Lillois are highly patriotic, highly incensed against the Austrians, and regard the approaching siege with more contempt

E 4 than than apprehension. I asked the servant who was making my bed this morning, how far the enemy was off. "Une lieue et demie ou deux lieues, a mains quil ne soient plus avarices de puis hier" replied she, with the utmost indifference.—I own, I did not much approve of such a vicinage, and a view of the fortifications (which did not make the less impression, because I did not understand them,) was absolutely necessary to raise my drooping courage.

- This morning was dedicated to visiting the churches, citadel, and Collifée (a place of amusement in the manner of our Vauxhall); but all these things have been so often

defer! bed by much abler pens, that I cannot modestly pretend to add any thing on the subject;.

In the evening we were at the theatre, which is large and handfome; and the constant refidence of a numerous garrifon enables it to entertain a very good fet of performers:—their operas in particular are extremely well got up. I faw *Zemire et Azor*. given better than at Drury lane.—In the farce, which was called *Lc Fran-fois a Londres*, was introduced a character they called that of an Englifhman (Jack Roaftbeef) who pays his addrefles to a noblemans daughter, ter, in a box coat, a large hat flouched over his eyes, and an oaken towel in his hand—in fhort, the whole figure exactly refembling that of a watchman. His converfation is grofs and farcaftic, interlarded with oaths, or relieved by fits of fallen taciturnity—fuch a lover as one may fuppofe, though rich, and the choice of the ladys father, makes no impreffion; and the author has flattered the national vanity by making the heroine give the preference to a French Marquis. Now there is no doubt but nine-tenths of the audience thought this a good portraiture of the Englim character, and en-joyed it with all the fatisfaction of confcious fuperiority.—The ignorance that prevails with regard to our manners and cuftoms, among a people fo near us, isfurprizing. It is true, that the noblefle who have vifited England with proper recommendations, and have been introduced to the beft fociety, do us juftice: the men of letters alfo, who, for party motives, extol every thing Englifh, have done us perhaps more than juftice. But I fpeak of the French in general, not the lower claffes only—but the gentry of the provinces, and even thofe who in other refpects have pretentions to information. The fact is, living in England is expenfive: a Frenchman, whofe income here fupports him

as a gentleman, goes over and finds all his habits of ceconomy infufficient to keep him from exceeding the limits he had prefcribed to himfelf. His decent lodging alone cofts him a great part of his revenue, and obliges him to be ftrictly parfimonious of the reft. This drives him to affociate chiefly with his own countrymen, to dine at obfcure coffee-houfes, and pay his court to operas-dancers. He fees, indeed, our theatres, our public walks, the outfide of our palaces, and the infide of churches: but this gives him no idea of the manners of the people in Superior life, or even of eafy fortune. Thus he goes home, and aflerts to his untravelled countrymen, that our King ajid nobility are ill lodged, our churches mean, and that the Englifh are barbarians, who dine without foup, ufe no napkins, and eat with their knives.—I have heard a gentleman of fome respectability here obferve, that our ufual dinner was an im-rnenfe joint of meat half dreft, and a dim of vegetables fcarcely dreft at all.—Upon queftion-ing him, I difcovered he had lodged in St. Martins Lane, had likewife boarded at a country attorneys, and dined at an ordinary at Margate.

Some few weeks ago the Marquis de P- fet out from Paris in the diligence, and accompanied by his fervant, with a defign of emigrating. Their only fellow-traveller was an Englifhman, whom they frequently addrefled, and endeavoured to enter into converfation with; but he either remained filent, or gave them to underftand he was entirely ignorant of the language. Under this perfuafion. the Marquis and his valet freely difcuffed their affairs, arranged their plan of emigration, and expreffed, with little ceremony, their political opinions.—At the end of their journey they were denounced by their companion, and conducted to prifon. The magiftrate who took the

information mentioned the circumstance when I happened to be present. Indignant at such an adl in an Englishman, I enquired his name. You will judge of my surprize, when he assured me it was the English ambassador. I observed to him, that it was not common for our ambassadors to travel in stage-coaches: this, he said, he knew; but that having reason to suspect the Marquis, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur had had the goodness to have him watched, and had taken this journey on purpose to detect him. It was not without much reasoning, and the evidence of a lady who had been in England long enough to know the impossibility of such a thing, that I would justify Lord G from this piece of complaint to the Jacobins, and convince the worthy magistrate he had been imposed upon: yet this man is the professor of eloquence at a college, is the oracle of the Jacobin society, and may perhaps become a member of the Convention. This seems so almost incredibly absurd, that I would fear to repeat it, were it not known to many besides myself; but I think I may venture to pronounce, from my own observation, and that of others, whose judgment, and occasions of exercising it, give weight to their opinions, that the generality of the French who have read a little are mere pedants, nearly unacquainted with modern nations, their commercial and political relations, their internal laws, characters, or manners. Their studies are chiefly confined to Rollin and Plutarch, the deistical works of Voltaire, and the visionary politics of Jean Jacques. Hence they amuse their hearers with allusions to Caesar and Lycurgus, the Rubicon, and Thermopylae. Hence they pretend to be too enlightened for belief, and despise all governments not founded on the contract social, or the profession de foi. They are an age removed from the useful literature and general information of the middle classes in our own country—they talk familiarly of Sparta and Lacedaemon, and have about the same idea of Russia as they have of Caffraria. Yours.

(MARRIED

Life.

"MARRIED to another, and that before those shoes were old with which I followed my poor father to the grave."—There is scarcely any circumstance or situation, in which, if one's memory were good, one should not be mentally quoting Shakespeare. I have just now been whispering the above, as I passed the altar of liberty, which still remains on the Grand Place. But "a month, a little month" ago, on this altar the French swore to maintain the constitution, and to be faithful to the law and the King; yet this constitution is no more, the laws are violated, the King is dethroned, and the altar is now only a monument of levity and perjury, which they have not feeling enough to remove.

The Austrians are daily expected to besiege this place, and they may destroy, but they will not take it. I do not, as you may suppose, venture to speak so decisively in a military point of view—I know as little as possible of the excellencies of Vauban, or the adequacy of the garrison; but I draw my inference from the spirit of enthusiasm which prevails among the inhabitants of every class—every individual seems to partake of it: the streets resound with patriotic acclamations, patriotic songs, war, and defiance.—Nothing can be more animating than the theatre. Every allusion to the Austrians, every song or sentence expressive of determined resistance, is followed by bursts of assent, easily distinguishable not to be the effort of party, but the sentiment

of the people in general. There are, doubtless, here, as in all other places, party distinctions; but the threatened siege seems at least to have united all for their common defence: they know that a bomb makes no distinction between Feuillans, Jacobins, or Aristocrats, and neither are so anxious to destroy the other, when it is only to be done at such a risk to themselves. I am even willing to hope that something better than mere selfishness has a share in their uniting to preserve one of the finest, and, in every sense, one of the most interesting towns in France.

Lille, Saturday.-

We are just on our departure for Arras, where, I fear, we shall scarcely arrive before the gates are shut. We have been detained here much beyond our time, by a circumstance infinitely more shocking, though, in fact, not properly a subject of regret. One of the affidavits of General Dillon was this morning guillotined before the hotel where we are lodged.—I did not, as you will conclude, see the operation; but the mere circumstance of knowing the moment it was performed, and being so near it, has much unhinged me. The man, however, deserved his fate, and such an example was particularly necessary at this time, when we are without a government, and the laws are relaxed. The mere privation of life is, perhaps more quickly effected by this instrument than by any other means; but when we recollect that the preparation for, and apprehension of, death, constitute its greatest terrors; that a human hand must give motion to the guillotine as well as to the axe; and that either accustoms a people, already sanguinary, to the sight of blood, I think little is gained by the invention. It was imagined by a Monsieur Guillotin, a physician of Paris, and member of the Constituent Assembly. The original design seems not so much to spare pain to the criminal, as obloquy to the executioner. I, however, perceive little difference between a man directing a guillotine, or tying a rope; and I believe the people are of the same opinion. They will never see any

4 any thing but a bourreau in the man whose province it is to execute the sentence of the laws, whatever name he may be called by, of whatever instrument he may make use of.—I have concluded this letter with a very unpleasant subject, but my pen is guided by circumstances, and I do not invent, but communicate.—Adieu. Yours, andc.

Arras, September I,

All day I been accompanied by an antiquary this morning, his sensibility would have been severely exercised; for even I, whose respect for antiquity is not scientific, could not help lamenting the modern rage for devastation which has seized the French. They are removing all "the time-honoured figures" of the cathedral, and painting its massive supporters in the style of a ball-room. The elaborate untruths of ancient sculpture is not, indeed, very beautiful; yet I have often fancied there was something more simply pathetic in the awkward effigy of a hero kneeling amidst his trophies, or a regal pair with their supplicating hands and surrounding offspring, than in the graceful figures and poetic allegories of the modern artist. The humble intreaty to the reader to (prayer for the souls of the departed," is not very elegant—yet is it better calculated to recal the wanderings of morality, than the flattering epitaph, a fame hovering in the air, or the suspended wreath of the remunerating angel. But I moralize in vain—the rage of these new Goths is inexorable: they seem solicitous to destroy every vestige of civilization, lest the people should remember they have not always been barbarians.

After obtaining an order from the municipality, we went to see the gardens and palace of the Bimop/ who has emigrated. The garden has nothing very remarkable, but is large and well laid out, according to the old style. It forms a very agreeable walk, and, when the Bi-fhop possessed it, was open for the enjoyment of the inhabitants, but it is now shut up and in disorder. The house is plain, and substantially furnished, and exhibits no appearance of unbecoming luxury. The whole is now the property of the nation, and will soon be disposed of.—I could not help feeling a sensation of melancholy as we walked over the apartments. Every thing is marked in an inventor), just as left; and an air of arrangement and residence leads one to reflect, that the owner did not

Vol. i. I imagine imagine at his departure he was quitting it perhaps for ever. I am not partial to the original emigrants, yet much may be said for the Bi-fhop of Arras. He was pursued by ingratitude, and marked for persecution. The Robespierres were young men whom he had taken from a mean state, had educated, and patronized. The revolution gave them an opportunity of displaying their talents, and their talents procured them popularity. They became enemies to the clergy, because their patron was a Bi-fhop; and endeavoured to render their benefactor odious, because the world could not forget, nor they forgive, how much they were indebted to him.—Vice is not often passive; nor is there often a medium between gratitude for benefits, and hatred to the author of them. A little mind is hurt by the remembrance of obligation—begins by forgetting, and, not uncommonly, ends by persecuting.

We dined and passed the afternoon from home to-day. After dinner our hostess, as usual, proposed cards; and, as usual in French societies, every one assented: we waited, however, some time, and no cards came—till, at length, conversation parties were formed, and they were no longer thought of. I have since learned, learned, from one of the young women of the house, that the butler and two footmen had all betaken themselves to clubs and Guinguettes, and the cards, counters, andc. could not be obtained. This is another evil arising from the circumstances of the times. All people of property have begun to bury their money and plate, and as the servants are often unavoidably privy to it, they are become idle and impertinent—they make a kind of commutation of diligence for fidelity, and imagine that the ob-servance of the one exempts them from the other. The clubs are a constant receptacle for idleness; and servants who think proper to frequent them do it with very little ceremony, knowing that few whom they serve would be imprudent enough to discharge them for their patriotism in attending a Jacobin society. Even servants who are not converts to the new principles cannot resist the temptation of abusing a little the power which they acquire from a knowledge of family affairs. Perhaps the effect: of the revolution has not, on the whole, been favourable to the morals of the lower class of people; but this shall be the subject: of discussion at some future period, when I shall have had farther opportunities of judging.

P a We

We yesterday visited the Oratoire, a semi-nary for education, which is now suppressed. The building is immense, and admirably calculated for the purpose, but is already in a state of dilapidation; so that, I fear, by the time the legislature has determined what system of instruction shall be substituted for that which has been abolished,

the children (as the French are fond of examples from the ancients) will take their leffons, like the Greeks, in the open air; and, in the mean while, become expert in lying and thieving, like the Spartans.

The Superior of the house is an immoderate revolutionist, speaks English very well, and is a great admirer of our party writers. In his room I observed a vast quantity of English books, and on his chimney stood what he called a patriotic clock, the dial of which was placed between two pyramids, on which were inscribed the names of republican authors, and on the top of one was that of our countryman, Mr. Thomas Paine—whom, by the way, I understand you intended to exhibit in a much more conspicuous and less tranquil Situation. I assure you, though you are ungrateful on your side the matter, he is in high repute here—his works are translated—all the Jacobins who can read quote, quote, and all who cant, admire him; and possibly, at the very moment you are sentencing him to an installment in the pillory, we may be awarding him a triumph. Perhaps we are both right. He deserves the pillory from you for having endeavoured to destroy a good constitution—and the French may with equal reason grant him a triumph, as their constitution is likely to be so bad, that even Mr. Thomas Paine's writings may make it better!

Our house is situated within view of a very pleasant public walk, where I am daily amused with a sight of the recruits at their exercise. This is not quite so regular a business as the drill in the Park. The exercise is often interrupted by disputes between the officer and his soldiers—some are for turning to the right, others to the left, and the matter is not unfrequently adjusted by each going the way that seemeth best unto himself. The author of the "Attes des A6tres" cites a Colonel who reprimanded one of his corps for walking ill—"Eh Diantre, (replied the man) comment veux tu que je marche Vien quandtu as fait mes foidiers trap etrolts"—but this is no longer a pleasantry—such circumstances are very common. A Colonel may often be tailor to his own regiment, and a Captain p 3 operate operate on the heads of his whole company, in his civil capacity, before he commands them in his military one.

The walks I have just mentioned have been extremely beautiful, but a great part of the trees have been cut down, and the ornamental parts destroyed, since the revolution—I know not why, as they were open to the poor as well as the rich, and were a great embellishment to the low town. You may think it strange that I should be continually dating some destruction from the era of the revolution—that I speak of every thing demolished, and of nothing replaced. But it is not my fault—"If freedom grows deftrue"live, I must paint it:" though I should tell you, that in many streets where convents have been sold, houses are building with the materials on the same site.—This is, however, not a work of the nation, but of individuals, who have made their purchases cheap, and are hastening to change the form of their property, lest some new revolution should deprive them of it.—Yours, andc.

Nothing

Arras, September.

. NOTHING more powerfully excites the attention of a stranger on his first arrival, than the number and wretchedness of the poor at Arras. In all places poverty claims compassion, but here compassion is accompanied by horror—one dares not contemplate the object one commiserates, and charity relieves with an averted eye. Perhaps with

Him, who regards equally the forlorn beggar stretched on the threshold, consumed by filth and disease, and the blooming beauty who avoids while she flatters him, the offering of humanity scarcely expiates the involuntary disgust; yet such is the weakness of our nature, that there exists a degree of misery against which our senses are not proof, and benevolence itself revolts at the appearance of the poor of Arras.—These are not the cold and fastidious reflections of an unfeeling mind—they are not made without pain: nor have I often felt the want of riches and consequence so much as in my incapacity to promote some means of permanent and substantial remedy for the evils I have been describing. I have frequently enquired the cause of this singular misery, but can only learn that it always has been so. I fear it is, that the

French poor are without energy, and the rich without generosity. The decay of manufactures since the last century must have reduced many families to indigence. These have been able to subsist on the refuse of luxury, but, too supine for exertion, they have fought for nothing more; while the great, discharging their consciences with the superfluity of what administered to their pride, fostered the evil, instead of endeavouring to remedy it. But the benevolence of the French is not often active, nor extensive; it is more frequently a religious duty than a sentiment. They content themselves with affording a mere existence to wretchedness; and are almost strangers to those enlightened and generous efforts which stand beyond the moment, and seek not only to relieve poverty, but to banish it. Thus, through the frigid and indolent charity of the rich, the misery which was at first accidental is perpetuated, beggary and idleness become habitual, and are transmitted, like more fortunate inheritances, from one generation to another. This is not a mere conjecture—I have listened to the histories of many of these unhappy outcasts, who were more than thirty years old, and they have all told me, they were born in the state in which I beheld them, and that they did not remember to have heard that their parents were in any other. The National Assembly professes to effectuate an entire regeneration of the country, and to eradicate all evils, moral, physical, and political. I heartily wish the numerous and miserable poor with which Arras abounds, may become one of the first objects of reform; and that a nation which boasts itself the most polished, the most powerful, and the most philanthropic in the world, may not offer to the view so many objects shocking to humanity.

The citadel of Arras is very strong, and, as I am told, the chef (Tceuvre of Vauban; but placed with so little judgement, that the military call it *la lette inutile*. It is now uninhabited, and wears an appearance of desolation—the commandant and all the officers of the ancient government having been forced to abandon it; their houses also are much damaged, and the gardens entirely destroyed. I never heard that this popular commotion had any other motive than the general war of the new doctrines on the old.

I am sorry to see that most of the volunteers who go to join the army are either old men or boys, tempted by extraordinary pay and scarcity of employ. A cobbler who has been used to rear canary birds for Mad. de, brought us this morning all the birds he was possessed of, and told us he was going to-morrow to the frontiers. We asked him why, at his age, he should think of joining the army. He said, he had already served, and that there were a few months unexpired of the time that would entitle him to his pension.—"Yes; but in the mean while you may get killed; and then of what service will

your claim to a pension be?"—tl N"ayez pas peur Madame—Je me menagerai bien—on ne Je batpas pour ces gueux la comme pour fonroir

M. de is juft returned from the camp of Maulde, where he has been to fee his fon. He fays, there is great diforder and want of difcipline, and that by fome means or other the common foldiers abound more in money, and game higher, than their officers. There are two young women, inhabitants of the town of St. Amand, who go constantly out on all skirmifhing parties, exercife daily with the men, and have killed feveral of the enemy. They are both pretty—one only fifteen, the other a year or two older. Mr. de faw them as they were juft returning from a reconnoitring party. Perhaps I ought to have been afhamed after this recital to decline an invitation from Mr. de

Rs fon to dine with him at the camp; but I cannot but feel that I am an extreme coward, and that I fhould eat with no appetite in fight of an Auftrian army. The very idea of thefe modern Camillas terrifies me—their creation feems an error of nature.

Our hoft, whofe politeneffs is indefatigable, accompanied us a few days ago to St. Eloy, a large and magnificent abbey, about fix miles from Arras. It is built on a terrace, which commands the furrounding country as far as Douay; and I think I counted an hundred and fifty fteps from the houfe to the bottom of the garden, which is on a level with the road. The cloifters are paved with marble, and the church neat and beautiful beyond defcription. The iron work of the choir imitates flowers and

Their name was Fernig; they were natives of St. Amand, and of no remarkable origin. They followed Dumourier into Flanders, where they fignalized themfelves greatly, and became Aides-de-Camp to that General. At the time of his defection, one of them was mot by a foldier, whofe regiment fhc was endeavouring to gain over. Their houfe having been razed by the Auftrians at the beginning of the war, was rebuilt at the expence of the nation; but, upon their participation in Dumouriers treachery, a fecond decree of the Afembly again levelled it with the ground.

foliage foliage with fo much tafte and delicacy, that (but for the colour) one would rather fuppofe it to be foil, than any durable material.—The monks ftill remain, and, although the decree has paffed for their fuppreffion, they cannot fuppofe it will take place. They are moftly old men, and, though I am no friend to thefe in-ftitutions, they were fo polite and hofpitable that I could not help wifhing they were permitted, according to the defign of the firft Aflem-bly, to die in their habitations—efpecially as the fituation at St. Eloy renders the building ufelefs for any other purpofe. A friend of

Mr. de—has a charming country-houfe near the abbey, which he has been obliged to deny himfelf the enjoyment of, during the greareft part of the fummer; for whenever the family returns to Arras, their perfons and their carriage are fearched at the gate as friftly as though they were fmugglers juft arrived from the coaft, under the pretence that they may affift the religious of St. Eloy in fecuring fome of their property, previous to the final feizure.

I obferve, in walking the ftreets here, that the common people ftill retain much of the Spanifh caft of features: the women are remarkably plain, and appear ftill more fo by wearing faals.

The

Thefaat is about two ells of black iilk or stuff, which is hung without tafte or form on the head, and is extremely unbecoming: but it is worn only by the lower clafs, or by the aged and devotees.

I am a very voluminous correffpondent, but if I tire you, it is a proper punifhment for your infincerity in definng me to continue fo. I have heard of a governor of one of our Weft India iflands who was univerfally detefted by its inhabitants, but who, on going to England, found no difficulty in procuring addreffes ex-preffive of approbation and efteem. The con-ffequence was, he came back and continued governor for life. Do you make the application of my anecdote, and I fhall perfevere in fcribbling. Ever Yours.

. r Arras.

JLT is not fashionable at prefent to frequent any public place; but as we are ftrangers, and of no party, we often pafs our evenings at the theatre. I am fond of it—not fo much on account of the representation, as of the opportunity which it affords for obferving the difpofitions of the people, ple, and the bias intended to be given them. The ftage is now become a kind of political fchool, where the people are taught hatred to Kings, Nobility, and Clergy, according as the perfecution of the moment requires; and, I think, one may often judge from new pieces the meditated facrifice. A year ago, all the bad catalogue of human errors were perfonified in Counts and Marquifles; they were not represented as individuals whom wealth and power had made fomewhat too proud, and much too luxurious, but as an order of monfters, whole exiftence, independently of their characters, was a crime, and whole hereditary poffeffions alone implied a guilt, not to be expiated but by the forfeiture of them. This, you will fay, was not very judicious; and that by eftablifhing a fort of incompatibility of virtue with titular diftinc-tions, the odium was transferred from the living to the dead—from thofe who poffeffed thefe diftinctions to thofe who intituted them. But, unfortunately, the French were difpofed to find their nobleffe culpable, and to reject every thing which tended to excufe or favour them. The lauteur of the nobleffe acted as a fatal equivalent to every other crime; and many, who did not credit other imputations, rejoiced in the humiliation of their pride. The people, the the rich merchants, and even the leffer gentry, all eagerly concurred in the deftruction of an order that had difdained or excluded them; and, perhaps, of all the innovations which. have taken place, the abolition of rank has excited the leaft intereft.

It is now lefts neceffary to blacken the no-bleffe, and the compofitions of the day are directed againft the Throne, the Clergy, and Monaftic Orders. All the tyrants of paff ages are brought from the fhelves of faction and pedantry, and affimilated to the mild and circumfcribed monarchs of modern Europe. The doctrine of popular fovereignty is artfully in-ftilled, and the people are ftimulated to exert a power which they muft implicitly delegate to thofe who have duped and mifled them. The frenzy of a mob is represented as the publi-meft effort of patriotifm; and ambition and revenge, ufurping the title of national juftice, immolate their victims with applaufe. The tendency of fuch pieces is too obvious; and they may, perhaps, fucceed in familiarizing the minds of the people to events which, a few months ago, would have filled them with horror. There are alfo numerous theatrical exhibitions, preparatory to the removal of the nuns from their convents, convents, and to the banifhment of the priefts. Ancient

prejudices are not yet obliterated, and I believe some pains have been taken to justify these persecutions by calumny. The history of our dissolution of the monasteries has been ransacked for scandal, and the bigotry and abuses of all countries are reduced into abstractions, and exposed on the stage. The most implacable revenge, the most refined malice, the extremes of avarice and cruelty, are wrought into tragedies, and displayed as acting under the mask of religion and the impunity of a cloister; while operas and farces, with ridicule still more successful, exhibit convents as the abode of licentiousness, intrigue, and superstition.

These efforts have been sufficiently successful—not from the merit of the pieces, but from the novelty of the subject. The people in general were strangers to the interior of convents: they beheld them with that kind of respect which is usually produced in uninformed minds by mystery and prohibition. Even the monastic habit was sacred from dramatic uses; so that a representation of cloisters, monks, and nuns, their costumes and manners, never fails of attracting the multitude. But the same cause which renders them curious, makes them credulous.

Credulous. Those who have seen no farther than the Grille, and those who have been educated in convents, are equally unqualified to judge of the lives of the religious; and their minds, having no internal conviction or knowledge of the truth, easily become the converts of slander and falsehood.

...; j t. I cannot help thinking that there is something mean and cruel in this procedure. If policy demand the sacrifice, it does not require that the victims should be rendered odious; and if it be necessary to dispossess them of their habitations, they ought not, at the moment they are thrown upon the world, to be painted as monsters unworthy of its pity or protection. It is the cowardice of the assassin, who murders before he dares to rob.

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This custom of making public amusements subservient to party, has, I doubt not, much contributed to the destruction of all against whom it has been employed; and theatrical calumny seems always to be the harbinger of approaching ruin to its object: yet this is not the greatest evil which may arise from these infamous politics—they are equally unfavourable both to the morals and taste of the people; the first

Vol. i. G are are injured beyond calculation, and the Tatter corrupted beyond amendment. The orders of society, which formerly inspired respect and veneration, are now debased and exploded, and mankind, once taught to see nothing but vice and hypocrisy in those whom they had been accustomed to regard as models of virtue, are easily led to doubt the very existence of virtue itself: they know not where to turn for either instruction or example; no prospect is offered to them but the dreary and uncomfortable view of general depravity; and the individual is no longer encouraged to struggle with vicious propensities, when he concludes them irresistibly inherent in his nature. Perhaps it was not possible to imagine principles at once so seductive and ruinous as those now disseminated. How are the morals of the people to resist a doctrine which teaches them that the rich only can be criminal, and that poverty is a substitute for virtue—that wealth is holden by the sufferance of those who do not possess it—and that he who is the frequenter of a club, or the applauder of a party, is exempt from the duties of his station, and has a right to insult and oppress his fellow-citizens? All the

weaknesses of humanity are flattered and called to the aid of this pernicious system of revolutionary ethics; and if France yet continues in a state of civilization, it is because Providence has not yet abandoned her to the influence of such a system.

Taught is, I repeat it, as little a gainer by the revolution as morals. The pieces which were best calculated to form and refine the minds of the people, all abound with maxims of loyalty, with respect for religion, and the subordinations of civil society. These are all prohibited; and are replaced by fictitious declamations, tending to promote anarchy and discord—by vulgar and immoral farces, and insidious and flattering panegyrics on the vices of low life. No drama can succeed that is not supported by the faction; and this support is to be procured only by vilifying the Throne, the Clergy, and Noblesse. This is a succeededaneum for literary merit, and those who disapprove are menaced into silence; while the multitude, who do not judge but imitate, applaud with their leaders—and thus all their ideas become vitiated, and imbibe the corruption of their favourite amusement.

I have dwelt on this subject longer than I intended; but as I would not be supposed prejudiced nor precipitate in my assertions, I will, by the first occasion, send you some of the most

A popular popular farces and tragedies: you may then decide yourself upon the tendency; and by comparing the dispositions of the French before, and within, the last two years, you may also determine whether or not my conclusions are warranted by fact. Adieu. Yours,.

: Arras. ff—" 1.""; UjR countrymen who visit France for the first time—their imaginations filled with the epithets which the vanity of one nation has appropriated, and the indulgence of the other functioned—are astonished to find this "land I. j i ;.

of elegance," this refined people, extremely inferior to the English in all the arts that minister to the comfort and accommodation of life. They are surprised to feel themselves starved by the intrusion of all the winds of heaven, or smothered by volumes of smoke—that no lock will either open or shut—that the drawers are all immovable—and that neither chairs nor -i . ;"-.) tables can be preserved in equilibrium. In vain do they enquire for a thousand conveniences which to them seem indispensable; they are not to be procured, or even their use is unknown: till at length, after a residence in a score of c. houses, houses, in all of which they observe the same deficiencies, they begin to grow sceptical, to doubt the pretended superiority of France, and, perhaps for the first time, do justice to their own unassuming country. It must however, be confessed, that if the chimnies smoke, they are usually surrounded by marble—that the uncomfortable chair is often covered with silk—and that if a room be cold, it is plentifully decked with gilding, pictures, and glasses.—In short, a French house is generally more showy than convenient, and seldom conveys that idea of domestic comfort which is the luxury of an Englishman.

I observe, that the most prevailing ornaments here are family portraits: almost every dwelling, even among the lower kind of tradesmen, is peopled with these ensigns of vanity; and the painters employed on these occasions, however deficient in other requisites of their art, seem to have an unfortunate knack at preserving like-nesses. Heads powdered even whiter than the originals, laced waistcoats, enormous lappets, and countenances all ingeniously disposed so as to smile at each other, encumber the

wainfcot, and diftreffs the unlucky vifttor, who is obliged to bear teftimony to the refemblance. When one fees whole rooms filled with thefe figures, one cannot help reflecting on the goodnefs of Providence, which thus diftributes felf-love, in proportion as it denies thofe gifts that excite the admiration of others.

You muft not underftand what I have faid on the furniture of French houfes as applying to thofe of the nobility or people of extraordinary fortunes, becaufe they are enabled to add the conveniences of other countries to the luxuries of their own. Yet even thefe, in my opinion, have not the uniform elegance of an Englifh habitation: there is always fome difparity between the workmanfhip and the materials—fome mixture of fplendor and clumfinefs, and a want of what the painters call keeping; but the houfes of the gentry, the leffer nobleffe, and merchants, are for the moft part as I have deferi-bed—abounding in filk, marble, glaffes, and pidhires; but ill finimed, dirty, and deficient in articles of real ufe. I fhould, howevtr, notice, that genteel people are cleaner here than in the interior parts of the kingdom. The floors are in general of oak, or fometimes of brick; but they are always rubbed bright, and-have not that filthy appearance which fo often difgufts one in French houfes.

The

The heads of the lower claffes of people are much difturbed by thefe new principles of uni-yerfal equality. We enquired of a man we faw near a coach this morning if it was hired. " Monfieur, (quoth he—then checking him-felf fuddenly,) no, I forgot, I ought not to fay Monfieur, for they tell me I am equal to any body in the world: yet, after all, I know not well if this may be true; and as I have drunk out all I am worth, I believe I had better go home and begin work again to-morrow." This new difciple of equality had indeed all the appearance of having (aerified to the fuccefs of the caufe, and was then recovering from a dream of greatnefs which he told us had lafted two days.

Since the day of taking the new oath we have met many equally elevated, though lefs civil. Some are undoubtedly paid, but others will diftreffs their families for weeks by this celebration of their new difcoveries, and muft, after all, like our intoxicated philofopher, be obliged to return " to work again to-morrow."

I muft now bid you adieu—and, in doing fo, naturally turn my thoughts to that country where the rights of the people confift not of fterile

G 4 and and metaphyfic declarations, bi. it of real defence and protection. May they for ever remain uninterrupted by the devafuating chimeras of their neighbours; and if they feek reform, may it be moderate and permanent, acceded to reafon, and not extorted by violence I Yours, See.

September 3.

E were fo much alarmed at the theatre on Thurfday, that I believe we Iball not venture again to amufe ourfelves at the rifk of a fimilar occurrence. About the middle of the piece, a violent outcry began from all parts of the houfe, and feemed to be directed againft our box; and I perceived Madame Duchene, the Prefidente of the Jacobins, heading the legions of Paradife with peculiar animation. You may imagine we were not a little-terrified. I anxiously examined the drefs of myfelf and my companions, and obferving nothing that could offend the affected fimplicity of the times, prepared to quit the houfe, A friendly voice, however, exerting itfelf above the

clamour, informed us that the offensive objects were a cloak and a shawl which hung over the front of the box.—You will scarce be surprised to find such grossness possible among a civilized people; but the fact is, our friends are of the proscribed class, and we were insulted because in their society.—I have before noticed, that the guards which were stationed in the theatre before the revolution are now removed, and a municipal officer, made conspicuous by his scarf, is placed in the middle front box, and, in case of any tumult, is empowered to call in the military to his assistance.

We have this morning been visiting two objects, which exhibit this country in very different points of view—as abounding in wealth, or as the abode of poverty. The first is the abbey of St. Vaast, a most superb pile, now inhabited by monks of various orders, but who are preparing to quit it, in obedience to the late decrees. Nothing impresses one with a stronger idea of the influence of the Clergy, than these splendid edifices. We see them reared amidst the solitude of deserts, and in the gaiety and misery of cities; and while they cheer the one and embellish the other, they exhibit, in both, monuments of indefatigable labour and immense wealth.—The facade of St. Vaast is simple and striking, and the cloisters and every other part of the building are extremely handsome. The library is supposed to be the finest in France, except the Kings, but is now under the seal of the nation. A young monk, who was our Cicerone, told us he was sorry it was not in his power to show it. *Et nousf Monjieur, nousfommes faches aujji* Thus, with the aid of significant looks, and gestures of disapprobation, an exchange of intimations took place, without a single expression of treasonable import: both parties understood perfectly well, that in regretting that the library was inaccessible, each included all the circumstances which attended it. A new church was building in a style worthy of the convent—I think, near four hundred feet long; but it was discontinued at the suppression of the religious orders, and will now, of course, never be finished.

From this abode of learned ease and pious indolence, Mr. de conducted us to the

Mont de Piete, a national institution for lending money to the poor on pledges, (at a moderate interest,) which, if not redeemed within a year, are sold by auction, and the overplus, if there remain any, after deducting the interest, is given to the owner of the pledge. Thousands of small packets are deposited here, which, to the eye of affluence, might seem the very refuse

Of beggary itself.—I could not reflect, without an heart-ach, on the distresses of the individual, thus driven to relinquish his last covering, braving cold to satisfy hunger, and accumulating wretchedness by momentary relief. I saw, in a lower room, groups of unfortunate beings, depriving themselves of different parts of their apparel, and watching with solicitude the arbitrary valuations; others exchanging some article of necessity for one of a still greater—some in a state of intoxication, uttering execrations of despair; and all exhibiting a picture of human nature depraved and miserable.—While I was viewing this scene, I recalled the magnificent building we had just left, and my first emotions were those of regret and censure. When we only feel, and have not leisure to reflect, we are indignant that vast sums should be expended on sumptuous edifices, and that the poor should live in vice and want: yet the erection of St. Vaast must have maintained great numbers of industrious hands; and perhaps the revenues of the abbey may not, under its new possessors, be so well employed. When the offerings and the tributes to religion are the support of the industrious poor, it is their

best appropriation; and he who gives labour for a day, is a more useful benefactor than he who maintains maintains in idleness for two.—I could not help wishing that the Mont de Piete was suppressed, in order that the poor might no longer be tempted by the facility of a resource, which perhaps, in most instances, only increases their distresses.—It is an injudicious expedient to palliate an evil, which great national works, and the encouragement of industry and manufactures, might eradicate.—With these reflections I concluded mental peace with the monks of St. Vaast, and would, had it depended upon me, have readily comprized the finishing their great church in the treaty.

In times of public commotion people frequently send their valuable effects to the Mont de Piete, not only as being secure by its strength, but as it is respected by the people, who are interested in its preservation.—The Primary Assemblies have already taken place in this department. We happened to enter a church while the younger Robespierre was haranguing to an audience, very little respectable either in numbers or appearance. They were, however, sufficiently unanimous, and made up in noisy applause what they wanted in other respects. If the electors and elected of other departments be of the farrier complexion with those of Arras the new new Assembly will not, in any respect, be preferable to the old one. I have reproached many of the people of this place, who, from their education and property, have a right to take an interest in the public affairs, with thus suffering themselves to be represented by the most desperate and worthless individuals of the town. Their defence is, that they are insulted and overpowered if they attend the popular meetings, and by electing "les gueux et les federaux pour deputer" they send them to Paris, and secure their own local tranquillity.—The first of these assertions is but too true, yet I cannot but think the second a very dangerous experiment. They remove these turbulent and needy adventurers from the direction of a club to that of government, and procure a partial relief by contributing to the general ruin.

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Paris is said to be in extreme fermentation, and we are in some anxiety for our friend

M. P, who was to go there from Montmorency last week. I shall not close my letter till I have heard from him.

September 4.

I resume my pen after a sleepless night, and with an oppression of mind not to be described. Paris is the scene of proscription and massacres. The prisoners, the clergy, the noblesse, all that are supposed inimical to public faction, or the objects of private revenge, are sacrificed without mercy. We are here in the utmost terror and confirmation—we know not the end nor the extent of these horrors, and every one is anxious for himself or his friends. Our society consists mostly of females, and we do not venture out, but hover together like the fowls of heaven, when warned by a vague yet instinctive dread of the approaching storm. We tremble—at the sound of voices in the street, and cry, with the agitation of Macbeth, "there's knocking at the gate." I do not indeed envy, but I most sincerely regret, the peace and safety of England.—I have no courage to add more, but will enclose a hasty translation of the letter we received from M. P, by last night's post.

Humanity cannot comment upon it without shuddering. Ever Yours, andc.

.; V i. " Rue St. Honore, Sept. a.

"JL N a moment like this, I should be easily excused a breach of promise in not writing; yet when I recollect the apprehension which the "kindriefts of my amiable friends will feel on my account, I determine, even amidst the danger and desolation that surround me, to relieve them.—Would to heaven I had nothing more alarming to communicate than my own situation! I lay indeed suffer by accident; but thousands of wretched victims are at this moment marked for sacrifice, and are massacred with an execrable imitation of rule and order: a ferocious and cruel multitude, headed by chosen assassins, are attacking the prisons, forcing the houses of the noblesse and priests, and, after a horrid mockery of judicial condemnation, execute them on the spot. The tocsin is rung, alarm guns are fired, the streets resound with fearful shrieks, and an undefinable sensation of terror seizes on ones heart. I feel that I have committed an imprudence in venturing to Paris; but the barriers are now shut, and I must abide the event. I know not to what these proscriptions tend, or if all who are not their advocates are to be their victims; but an ungovernable rage animates the people: many many of them have papers in their hands that seem to direct them to their objects, to whom they hurry in crowds with an eager and savage fury.—I have just been obliged to quit my pen. A cart had stopped near my lodgings, and my ears were assailed by the groans of anguish, and the shouts of frantic exultation. Unknowing whether to descend or remain, I, after a moments deliberation, concluded it would be better to have shown myself than to have appeared to avoid it, in case the people should enter the house, and therefore went down with the best show of courage I could assume. I will draw a veil over the scene that presented itself—nature revolts, and my fair friends would shudder at the detail. Suffice it to say, that I saw carts, loaded with the dead and dying, and driven by their yet ensanguined murderers, one of whom, in a tone of exultation, cried, "Here is a glorious day for France!" I endeavoured to assent, though with a faltering voice, and as soon as they were passed escaped to my room. You may imagine I shall not easily recover the shock I received.—At this moment they cry, the enemy are retreating from Verdun. At any other time this would have been desirable, but at present one knows not what to wish for. Most probably, the report is only spread with the humane humane hope of appeasing the mob. They have already twice attacked the Temple; and I tremble lest this asylum of fallen majesty should, ere morning, be violated.

"Adieu—I know not if the courier will be permitted to depart; but, as I believe the streets are not more unsafe than the houses, I shall make an attempt to send this. I will write again in a few days. If to-morrow should prove calm, I shall be engaged in enquiring after the fate of my friends.—I beg my respects to Monf. and Mad. de—; and entreat you all to be as tranquil as such circumstances will permit.—You may be certain of hearing any news that can give you pleasure immediately. I have the honour to be," &c. &c.

Arras, September.

JOU will in future, I believe, find me but a dull correspondent. The natural timidity of my disposition, added to the dread which a native of England has of any violation of domestic security, renders me unfit for the scenes I am engaged in. I am become stupid and melancholy, and my letters will partake of the oppression of my mind.

Vol. i. H At

At Paris, the maffacres at the prifons are now over, but thofe in the ftreets and in private houfes ftill continue. Scarcely a poft arrives that does not inform M. de of fome friend or acquaintance being facrificed. Heaven knows where this is to end!

We had, for two days, notice that, purfuant to a decree of the Affembly, commiffioners were expected here at night, and that the tocfin would be rung for every body to deliver up their arms. We did not dare go to bed on either of thefe nights, but merely lay down in our robes de chambre, without attempting to fleep. This dreaded bufinefs is, however, paft. Parties of the Jacobins paraded the ftreets yef-terday morning, and difarmed all they thought proper. I obferved they had lifts in their hands, and only went to fuch houfes as have an external appearance of property. Mr. de, who has been in the fervice thirty years, delivered his arms to a boy, who behaved to him with the utmoft infolence, whilft we fat trembling and almoft fenfelefs with fear the whole time they remained in the houfe; and could I give you an idea of their appearance, you would think my terror very juftifiable. It is, indeed, ftrange and alarming, that all who have property fhould be deprived of the means of defending either that or their lives, at a moment when Paris is giving an example of tumult and aflaffination to every other part of the kingdom. Knowing no good reafon for fuch a procedure, it is very natural to fufpect a bad one.—I think, on many accounts, we are more expofed here than at , and as foon as we can procure horfes we fhall depart.—The following is the tranflation. of our laft letter from Mr. P.

I I I Promised my kind friends to write as foon as I fhould have any thing fatisfactory to communicate: but, alas! I have no hope of being the harbinger of any thing but circumftances of a very different tendency. I can only give you details of the horrors I have already generally defcribed. Carnage has not yet ceafed; and is only become more cool and more difcriminating. All the mild characteriftics that diftinguifh man from the wild beafts feem annihilated; and a frantic cruelty, which is dignified with the name of patriotifm, has ufurped every faculty, and banifhed both rea- fon and mercy.

"Monf., whom I have hitherto known by reputation, as an upright, and even humane

H a man, man, had a brother fhut up, with a number of other priefts, at the Carmes; and, by his fituation and connections, he has fuch influence as might, if exerted, have preferved the latter. The unfortunate brother knowing this, found means, while hourly expecting his fate, to convey a note to Mr., begging he would immediately releafe, and procure him an afylum. The meffenger returned with an anfwer, that Monf.—had no relations in the enemies of his country!

"A few hours after the maffacres at the Carmes took place.—One Panis, who is in the Comite de Surveillance, had, a few days previous to thefe dreadful events, become, I know not on what occafion, the depofitary of a large fum of money belonging to a gentleman of his fec-tion. A fecret and frivolous denunciation was made the pretext for throwing the owner of the money into prifon, where he remained till September, when his friends recollecting his danger, flew to the committee and applied for his difcharge. Unfortunately, the only mem-

Panis has since figured on various occasions. He is a member of the Convention, and was openly accused of having been an accomplice in the robbery of the Garde Meuble.

Member of the committee present was Panis. He promised to take measures for an immediate release.—Perhaps he kept his word, but the release was cruel and final—the prison was attacked, and the victim heard of no more.—You will not be surprised at such occurrences, when I tell you that G, whom you must remember to have heard of as a Jacobin at, is President of the committee above mentioned—yes, an assassin is now the protector of the public safety, and the commune of Paris the patron of a criminal who has merited the gibbet.—I know not if we are yet arrived at the climax of woe and iniquity, but Brissot, Condorcet, Roland, andc. and all those whose principles you have reprobated as violent and dangerous, will now form the moderate side of the Assembly. Perhaps even those who are now the party most dreaded, may one day give place to yet more desperate leaders, and become in their turn our best alternative. What will then be the situation of France? Who can reflect without trembling at the prospect?—It is not yet safe to walk the streets decently dressed; and I have been obliged to supply myself with trousers, a jacket, coloured neckcloths, and coarse linen, which I take care to foil before I venture out.

G was afterwards elected (doubtless by a recommendation of the Jacobins) Deputy for the department of Finistère, to which he was sent Commissioner by the Convention. On account of some unwarrantable proceedings, and of some words that escaped him, which gave rise to a suspicion that he was privy to the robbery of the Garde Meuble, he was arrested by the municipality of Quimper Corentin, of which place he is a native. The Jacobins applied for his discharge, and for the punishment of the municipality; but the Convention, who at that time rarely took any decisive measures, ordered

G to be liberated, but evaded the other part of the petition which tended to revenge him. The affair of the Garde Meuble was, however, again brought forward; but, most probably, many of the members had reasons for not discharging too nearly the accusation against G——; and those who were not interested in suppressing it, were too weak or too timid to pursue it farther.

"The Agrarian law is now the moral of Paris, and I had nearly lost my life yesterday by tearing a placard written in support of it. I did it imprudently, not supposing I was observed; and had not some people, known as Jacobins, come up and interfered in my behalf, the consequence might have been fatal.—It would be difficult, and even impossible, to attempt a description of the manners of the people of Paris at this moment: the licentiousness common to great cities is decency compared with what prevails in this; it has features of a peculiar and striking description, and the general expression is that of a monstrous union of opposite vices. Alternately dissolute and cruel, gay and vindictive, the Parisian vaunts amidst debauchery the triumph of assassination, and enlivens his midnight orgies by recounting the sufferings of the massacred aristocrats: women, whose profession it is to please, assume the bonnet rouge, and affect, as a means of seduction, an intrepid and ferocious courage. I cannot yet learn if Monsieur's sister be alive; her situation about the Queen makes it too doubtful; but endeavour to give him hope—many may have escaped whose fears still detain them in concealment. People of the first rank now inhabit garrets and cellars,

and those who appear are disguised beyond recollection; so that I do not despair of the safety of some, who are now thought to have perished.—I am, as you may suppose, in haste to leave this place, and I hope to return to Montmorency tomorrow; but everybody is soliciting passports. The Hotel de Ville is besieged, and I have already attended two days without success.—I beg my respectful homage to Monsieur and Madame de; and I have the honour to

Red cap.

He be, with esteem, the affectionate servant of my friends in general.

You will read Monsieur L's letter with all the grief and indignation we have already felt, " and I will make no comment on it, but to give you a slight sketch of the history of G, whom he mentions as being President of the Committee of Surveillance.—In the absence of a man, whom he called his friend, he seduced his wife, and eloped with her: the husband overtook them, and fell in the dispute which ensued, when G-, to avoid being taken by the officers of justice, abandoned his companion to her fate, and escaped alone. After a variety of adventures, he at length enlisted himself as a grenadier in the regiment of Dillon. With much assurance, and talents cultivated above the situation in which he appeared, he became popular amongst his fellow-soldiers, and the military impunity, which is one effect of the revolution, cast a veil over his former guilt, or rather indeed enabled him to defy the punishment annexed to it. When the regiment was quartered at—, he frequented and harangued at the Jacobin club, perverted the minds of the soldiers by seditious addresses, till at length he was deemed qualified to quit the character of a subordinate incendiary, and figure amongst the assassins at Paris. He had hitherto, I believe, acted without pay, for he was deeply in debt, and without money or clothes; but a few days previous to the tenth of August, a leader of the Jacobins supplied him with both, paid his debts, procured his discharge, and sent him to Paris. What intermediate gradations he may have passed through, I know not; but it is not difficult to imagine the services that have advanced him to his present situation.—It would be unsafe to risk this letter by the post, and I close it hastily to avail myself of a present conveyance.—I remain, Yours, andc.

Arras, September.

THE camp of Maulde is broken up, and we deferred our journey, that we might pass a day at Douay with M. de Sion.—The road within some miles of that place is covered with corn and forage, the immediate environs are begun to be inundated, and every thing wears the appearance of impending hostility. The town is so full of troops, that without the intercession of our military friends we should scarcely have procured a lodging. All was bustle and confusion, the enemy are very near, and the French are preparing to form a camp under the walls. Amidst all this, we found it difficult to satisfy our curiosity in viewing the churches and pictures: some of the former are shut, and the latter concealed; we therefore contented ourselves with seeing the principal ones.—The town house is a very handsome building, where the Parliament was holden previous to the revolution, and where all the business of the department of the North is now transacted.—In the council chamber, which is very elegantly carved, was also a picture of the present King. They were, at the very moment of our entrance, in the act of displacing it. We asked the reason, and were told it was to be cut in pieces, and portions sent to the different popular societies.—I know not if our features betrayed

the indignation we feared to express, but the man who seemed to have directed this disposal of the portrait, told us we were not English if we saw it with regret. I was not much delighted with such a compliment to our country, and was glad to escape without farther comment.

The manners of the people seem every where much changed, and are becoming gross and inhuman. While we were walking on the ramparts, I happened to have occasion to take down an address, and with the paper and pencil in my hand turned out of the direct path to observe a chapel on one side of it. In a moment I was alarmed by the cries of my companions, and beheld the musket of the centinel pointed at me, and M. de expostulating with him. I am not certain if he supposed I was taking a plan of the fortifications, and meant really more than a threat; but I was sufficiently frightened, and shall not again approach a town wall with pencils and paper.

M. de is one of the only few officers of his regiment who have not emigrated. With an imagination heated by the works of modern philosophers into an enthusiastic love of republican governments, and irritated by the contempt and opposition he has met with from those of his own class who entertain different principles, he is now become almost a fanatic. What at first was only a political opinion is now a religious tenet; and the moderate fecslary has acquired the obstinacy of a martyr, and, perhaps, the spirit of persecution. At the beginning of the revolution, the necessity of deciding, a youthful ardour for liberty, and the desire of preserving his fortune, probably determined him to become a patriot; and pride and repentment have given liability to notions which might otherwise have fluctuated with circumstances, or yielded to time. This is but too generally the case: the friends of rational reform, and the supporters of the ancient monarchy, have too deeply offended each other for pardon or confidence; and the country perhaps will be sacrificed by the mutual defections of those most concerned in its preservation. Actuated only by selfishness and revenge, each party willingly consents to the ruin of its opponents. The clergy, already divided among themselves, are abandoned by the noblesse—the noblesse are persecuted by the commercial interest—and, in short, the only union is amongst the Jacobins; that is, amongst a few weak persons who are deceived, and a banditti who betray and profit by their patriotism.

I was led to these reflections by my conversation with Mr. de L and his companions.

I believe they do not approve of the present extremes, yet they expressed themselves with the utmost virulence against the aristocrats, and would hear neither of reconciliation nor palliation. On the other hand, these dispositions were not altogether unprovoked—the young men had been persecuted by their relations, and banished the society of their acquaintance; and their political opinions had acted as an universal proscription. There were even some against whom the doors of the parental roof were shut. These party violences are terrible; and I was happy to perceive that the reciprocal claims of duty and affection were not diminished by them, either in M. de, or his son.

He, however, at first refused to come to A, because he suspected the patriotism of our society. I pleaded, as an inducement, the beauty of Mad. G, but he told me she was an aristocrat. It was at length, however, determined, that he would dine with us last Sunday, and that all visitors would be excluded. He was prevented coming by

being ordered out with a party the day we left him; and he has written to us in high spirits, to say, that, be-fides fulfilling his object, he had returned with fifty prifoners.

We had a very narrow efcape in coming home—the Hulans were at the village of, an hour after we paffed through it, and treated the poor inhabitants, as they ufually do, with great inhumanity.—Nothing has alienated the minds of the people fo much as the cruelties of thefe troops—they plunder and ill treat all they encounter; and their avarice is even left infatiable than their barbarity. How hard is it, that the ambition of Chiefs, and the wick-ednefs of faction, mould thus fall upon the innocent cottager, who perhaps is equally a franger to the names of the one, and the principles of the other!

The public papers will now inform you, that the French are at liberty to obtain a divorce on kalmoft any pretext, or even on no pretext at all, except what many may think a very good one—mutual agreement. A lady of our acquaintance here is become a republican in confequence of the decree, and probably will very foon avail herfelf of it; but this conduct, I conceive, will not be very general.

Much has been faid of the gallantry of the French ladies, and not entirely without reafon:

yet, though fometimes inconfant wives, they are, for the moft part, faithful friends—they facrifice the hulband without forfaking him, and their common intereft is always promoted with as much zeal as the moft inviolable attachment could infpire. Mad. de C, whom we we often meet in company, is the wife of an emigrant, and is faid not to be ablolutely difcon-folate at his abfence; yet fhe is indefatigable in her efforts to fupply him with money: fhe even rifks her fafety by her follicitude, and has juft now prevailed on her favourite admirer to haften his departure for the frontiers, in order to convey a fum fhe has with much difficulty been raifing. Such inftances are, I believe, not very rare; and as a Frenchman ufually prefers his intereft to every thing elfe, and is not quite fo unaccommodating as an Englifhman, an amicable arrangement takes place, and one feldom hears of a feparation.

The inhabitants of Arras, with all their pa-triotifm, are extremely averfe from the affig-nats; and it is with great reluctance that they confent to receive them at two-thirds of their nominal value. This difcredit of the paper money has been now two months at a ftand, and its rife or fall will be determined by the fuc-Cefs of the campaign.—I bid you adieu for the laft time from hence. We have already exceeded the propofed length of our vifit, and fhall fet out for St. Omer to-morrow. Yours.

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St. Omer, September.

JL Am confined to my room by a flight indif-potition, and, inftead of accompanying my friends, have taken up my pen to inform you that we are thus far fafe on our journey.—Do not, becaufe you are fur rounded by a protecting element, fmile at the idea of travelling forty or fifty miles" in fafety. The light troops of the Auftrian army penetrate fo far, that none of the roads on the frontier are entirely free from danger. My female companions were alarmed the whole day—the young for their baggage, and the old for themfelves.

The country between this and Arras has the appearance of a garden cultivated for the common use of its inhabitants, and has all the fertility and beauty of which a flat surface is susceptible. Bethune and Aire I should suppose strongly fortified. I did not fail, in passing through the former, to recollect with veneration the faithful minister of Henry the Fourth. The misfortunes of the descendant of Henry, whom Sully loved, and the state of the kingdom he so much cherished, made a stronger impression on me than usual, and I

Maximilian de Bethune, Due de Sully.

mingled mingled with the tribute of respect a sentiment of indignation. What perverse and malignant influence can have excited the people either to incur or to suffer their present situation? Were we not well acquainted with the arts of factions, the activity of bad men, and the effect of their union, I should be almost tempted to believe this change in the French supernatural less than three years ago, the name of Henri Quatre was not uttered without enthusiasm. The piece that transmitted the flight anecdotes of his life was certain of success—the air that celebrated him was listened to with delight—and

The decorations of beauty, when associated with the idea of this gallant Monarch, became more irrefragable. Yet Henry the Fourth is now a tyrant—his pictures and statues are destroyed, and his memory execrated!—Those who have reduced the French to this are, doubtless, base and designing intriguers; yet I cannot acquit the people, who are thus wrought on, of unfeelingness and levity;—England has had its revolutions; but the names of Henry the Fifth and Elizabeth were still revered: and the regal monuments, which still exist, after all the vicissitudes of our political principles, attest the mildness of the English republicans.

. At this time it was the prevailing fashion to call any new inventions of female dresses after his name, and to decorate the ornamental parts of furniture with his resemblance.

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The last days of our stay at Arras were embittered by the distresses of our neighbour and acquaintance, Madame de B. She has lost two sons under circumstances so affecting, that I think you will be interested in the relation.—The two young men were in the army, and quartered at Perpignan, at a time when some effort of counter-revolution was said to be intended. One of them was arrested as being concerned, and the other surrendered himself prisoner to accompany his brother.—When the High Court at Orleans was instituted for trying state-prisoners, those of Perpignan were ordered to be conducted there, and the two B's, chained together, were taken with the rest. On their arrival at Orleans, their gaoler had mislaid the key that unlocked their fetters, and, not finding it immediately, the young men produced one, which answered the purpose, and released themselves. The gaoler looked at them with surprise, and asked why, with such a means in their power, they had not escaped in the night, or on the road. They replied, because they were not culpable, and had had no reason for avoiding a trial that would manifest their innocence. Their heroism was fatal. They were brought, by a decree of the Convention, from Orleans to Versailles, (on their way to Paris,) where they were met by the mob, and massacred. Their unfortunate mother is yet ignorant of their fate; but we left her in a state little preferable to that which will be the effect "I

of certainty. She saw the decree for transporting the prisoners from Orleans, and all accounts of the result have been carefully concealed from her; yet her anxious and enquiring looks at all who approach her indicate but too well her suspicion of the truth.—Monf.

His situation is indefinably painful.

Informed of the death of his sons, he is yet obliged to conceal his sufferings, and wear an appearance of tranquillity in the presence of his wife. Sometimes he escapes, when unable to contain his emotions any longer, and remains at M. de s till he recovers himself. He takes no notice of the subject of his grief, and we respect it too much to attempt to console him. The last time I asked him after Mad. de s, he told me her spirits were something better, and, added he, in a voice almost suffocated, "She is amusing herself with working neckcloths for her sons!"—When you reflect that that the massacres at Paris took place the second and third of September, and that the decree was passed to bring the prisoners from Orleans (where they were in safety) on the tenth, I can say nothing that will add to the horror of this transaction, or to your detestation of its cause. Sixty-two, mostly people of high rank, fell victims to this barbarous policy: they were-brought in a sort of covered waggons, and were murdered in heaps without being taken out.

Perhaps the reader will be pleased at a discovery, which it would have been unsafe to mention when made, or in the course of this correspondence. The two young men here alluded to arrived at Versailles, chained together, with their fellow-prisoners. Surprise, perhaps admiration, had diverted the gaolers attention from demanding the key that opened their padlock, and it was still in; their possession. On entering Versailles, and observing the crowd preparing to attack them, they diverted themselves of their fetters, and of every other incumbrance. In a few moments their carriages were surrounded, their companions at one end were already murdered, and themselves slightly wounded; but-the confusion increasing, they darted amidst the crowd, and were in a moment undistinguishable. They were afterwards taken under the protection-of an humane magistrate, who concealed them for some time, and they are now in perfect security. They were the only two of the whole number that escaped.

September.

We passed a country so barren and uninteresting yesterday, that even a professional traveller could not have made a single page of it. It was, in every thing, "a perfect contrast to the rich plains of Artois—unfertile, neglected valleys and hills, miserable farms, still more miserable cottages, and scarcely any appearance of population. The only place where we could refresh the horses was a small house, over the door of which was the pompous designation of Hotel dangleterre. I know not if this be intended as a ridicule on our country, or as an attraction to our countrymen, but I, however, found something besides the appellation which reminded me of England, and which one does not often find in houses of a better out-side; for though the rooms were small, and only two in number, they were very clean, and the hostess was neat and civil. The Hotel dangleterre, indeed, was not luxuriously supplied, and the whole of our repast was eggs and tea, which we had brought with us.—In the next room to that we occupied were two prisoners chained, whom the officers were conveying to Arras, for the purpose of

better security. The secret history of this business is worth relating, as it marks the character of the moment, and the ascendancy which the Jacobins are daily acquiring.

These men were apprehended as smugglers, under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, and committed to the gaol at. A few days after, a young girl, of bad character, who has much influence at the club, made a motion, that the people, in a body, should demand the release of the prisoners. The motion was carried, and the Hotel de Ville assailed by a formidable troop of sailors, fish-women, andc.—The municipality refused to comply, the Garde Nationale was called out, and, on the mob per-fighting, fired over their heads, wounded a few, and the rest dispersed of themselves.—Now you must understand, the latent motive of all this was two thousand livres promised to one of the Jacobin leaders, if he succeeded in procuring the men their liberty.—I do not advance this merely on conjecture. The fact is well known to the municipality, and the decent part of it would willingly have expelled this man, who is one of their members, but that they found themselves too weak to engage in a serious quarrel with the Jacobins.—One cannot reflect, without apprehension, that any society should exist which can oppose the execution of the laws with impunity, or that a people, who are little sensible of realities, should be thus abused by names. They suffer, with unfeeling patience, a thousand enormities—yet blindly risk their liberties and lives to promote the designs of an adventurer, because he harangues at a club, and calls himself a patriot.—I have just received advice that my friends have left Laufanne, and are on their way to Paris. Our first plan of passing the winter there will be imprudent, if not impracticable, and we have concluded to take a house for the winter six months at Amiens, Chantilly, or some place which has the reputation of being quiet. I have already ordered enquiries to be made, and shall set out with

Mrs. in a day or two for Amiens. I may, perhaps, not write till our return; but shall not cease to be, with great truth, Yours, andc.

Amiens.

I HE departement de la Somme has the reputation of being a little aristocratic. I know not how far this be merited, but the people are certainly not enthusiasts. The villages we passed on our road hither were very different from those 14 on on the frontiers—We were hailed by no popular sounds, no cries of Vive la nation! except from here and there some ragged boy in a red cap, who, from habit, associated this salutation with the appearance of a carriage. In every place where there are half a dozen houses is planted an unthriving tree of liberty, which seems to wither under the baneful influence of the bonnet rouge. This Jacobin attribute is made of materials to resist the weather, and may last some time; but the trees of liberty, being planted unseasonably, are already dead. I hope this will not prove emblematic, and that the power of the Jacobins may not outlive the freedom of the people.

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The Convention begin their labours under disagreeable auspices. A general terror seems to have seized on the Parisians, the roads are covered with carriages, and the inns filled with travellers. A new regulation has just taken place, apparently intended to check this restless spirit. At Abbeyville, though we arrived late and were fatigued, we were taken to the municipality, our passports collated with our persons, and at the inn we were obliged to insert in a book our names, the place of our birth. from whence

we came, and where we were going. This, you will say, has more the features of a mature Inquisition, than a new-born Republic; but the French have different notions of liberty from yours, and take these things very quietly.—At Flixecourt we eat out of pewter spoons, and the people told us, with much inquietude, that they had sold their plate, in expectation of a decree of the Convention to take it from them. This decree, however, has not passed, but the alarm is universal, and does not imply any great confidence in the new government,

I have had much difficulty in executing my commission, and have at last fixed upon a house, of which I fear my friends will not approve; but the panic which depopulates Paris, the bombardment of Lille, and the tranquillity which has hitherto prevailed here, has filled the town, and rendered every kind of habitation scarce, and extravagantly dear: for you must remark, that though the Parisians are all aristocrats, yet when an intimidated sufferer of the same party flies from Paris, and seeks an asylum amongst them, they calculate with much exactitude what they suppose necessity may compel him to give, and will not take a livre less.—The rent of houses and lodgings, like the national funds, rise and fall with the public distresses, and, like them, is an object of speculation: several persons to whom we were addressed were extremely indifferent about letting their houses, alledging as a reason, that if the disorders of Paris should increase, they had no doubt of letting them to much greater advantage.

We were at the theatre last night—it was opened for the first time since France has been declared a republic, and the Jacobins vociferated loudly to have the fleur de lys, and other regal emblems, effaced. Obedience was no sooner promised to this command, than it was succeeded by another not quite so easily complied with—they insisted on having the Marseillaise Hymn sung. In vain did the manager, with a ludicrous sort of terror, declare, that there were none of his company who had any voice, or who knew either the words or the music of the hymn in question. "Ceft egal, il faut chanter," responded from all the patriots in the house. At last, finding the thing impossible, they agreed to a compromise; and one of the actors promised to sing it on the morrow, as well as the trifling impediment of having no voice would permit him. You think your galleries despotic when they call for an epilogue that is forgotten, and the actors who should speak it is undrest; or when they insist upon enlivening the last acts of Jane Shore with Roast Beef! What would you think if they would not dispense with a hornpipe on the tight-rope by Mrs. Webb? Yet, bating the danger, I assure you, the audience of Amiens was equally unreasonable. But liberty at present seems to be in an undefined state; and until our rulers shall have determined what it is, the matter will continue to be settled as it is now—by each man usurping as large a portion of tyranny as his situation will admit of. He who submits without repining to his district, to his municipality, or even to the club, domineers at the theatre, or exercises in the street a manual censure on aristocratic apparel.

Our embarrassment for small change is renewed: many of the communes who had issued bills of five, ten, and fifteen sols, repayable in assignats, are become bankrupts, which circumstance has thrown such a discredit on all this kind of nominal money, that the bills of one town will not pass in another. It was common at this time to insult women in the streets if dressed too well, or in colours the people chose to call aristocratic. I was myself nearly thrown down for having on a straw bonnet with green ribbons.

not not pass at another. The original creation of these bills was so limited, that no town had half the number requisite for the circulation of its neighbourhood; and this decrease, with the distrust that arises from the occasion of it, greatly adds to the general inconvenience.

The retreat of the Prussian army excites more surprise than interest, and the people talk of it with as much indifference as they would of an event that had happened beyond the Ganges. The siege of Lille takes off all attention from the relief of Thionville—not on account of its importance but on account of its novelty.—I remain, Yours, andc.

September.

I left Amiens early yesterday morning, but was so much delayed by the number of volunteers on the road, that it was late before we reached Abbeville. I was at first somewhat alarmed at finding ourselves surrounded by so formidable a cortege; they—however only exacted a declaration of our political principles, and we purchased our safety by a few smiles, and exclamations of *Vive la nation!* There were some hundreds of these recruits much under twenty; but

but the poor fellows, exhilarated by their new uniform and large pay, were going gaily to decide their fate by that hazard which puts youth and age on a level, and scatters with indiscriminating hand the cyphers and the laurel.

At Abbeville all the former precautions were renewed—we underwent another solemn identification of our persons at the Hotel de Ville, and an abstrad of our history was again enregistered at the inn. One would really suppose that the town was under apprehensions of a liege, or, at least, of the plague. My "paper face" was examined as suspiciously as though I had had the appearance of a trove/ried Achilles; and Mrs. M., which has as little expression as a Chinese painting, was elaborately scrutinized by a Dogberry in spectacles, who, perhaps, fancied she had the features of a female Ma-chiavel. All this was done with an air of importance sufficiently ludicrous, when contrasted with the object; but we met with no incivility, and had nothing to complain of but a little additional fatigue, and the delay of our dinner.

We stopped to change horses at Bernay, and I soon perceived our landlady was a very ardent patriot. In a room, to which we waded

at great risk of our clothes, was a representation of the siege of the Bastille, and prints of half a dozen American Generals, headed by Mr. Thomas Paine. On descending we found our hosts exhibiting a still more forcible picture of curiosity than Shakespeare's blacksmith. The half-demolished repast was cooling on the table, whilst our postilion retailed the Gazette, and the pigs and ducks were amicably grazing together on whatever the kitchen produced. The affairs of the Prussians and Austrians were discussed with entire unanimity, but when these politicians, as is often the case, came to adjust their own particular account, the conference was much less harmonious. The postilion offered a ten fols billet, which the landlady refused: one persisted in its validity, the other in rejecting it—till, at last, the patriotism of neither could endure this proof, and peace was concluded by a joint execration of those who invented this "Jicbupapter"

—At we met our friend, Mad. de, with part of her family and an immense quantity of baggage. I was both surprised and alarmed at such an apparition, and found, on enquiry, that they thought themselves unsafe at Arras, and were going to reside

near M. de Lafayette, where they were better known. I really begin to doubt the prudence of our establishing ourselves here for the winter. Every one who has it in his power endeavours to emigrate, even those who till now have been zealous supporters of the revolution.—Distrust and apprehension seem to have taken possession of every mind. Those who are in towns fly to the country, while the inhabitant of the isolated chateau takes refuge in the neighbouring town. Flocks of both aristocrats and patriots are trembling and fluttering at the foreboding storm, yet prefer to abide its fury, rather than seek shelter and defence together. I, however, flatter myself, that the new government will not justify this fear; and as I am certain my friends will not return to England at this season, I shall not endeavour to intimidate or discourage them from their present arrangement. We shall, at least, be enabled to form some idea of a republican constitution, and I do not, on reflection, conceive that any possible harm can happen to us.

I SHALL

JL Shall not date from this place again, intending to quit it as soon as possible. It is disturbed by the crowds from the camps, which are broken up, and the soldiers are extremely brutal and insolent. So much are the people already familiarized with the unnatural depravity of manners that begins to prevail, that the wife of the Colonel of a battalion now here walks the streets in a fed cap, with pistols at her girdle, boasting of the numbers she has destroyed at the massacres in August and September.

The Convention talk of the Kings trial as a decided measure; yet no one seems to admit even the possibility that such an act can be ever intended. A few believe him culpable, many think him misled, and many acquit him totally: but all agree that any violation of his person would be an atrocity disgraceful to the nation at large.—The fate of Princes is often disastrous in proportion to their virtues. The vanity, selfishness, and bigotry of Louis the Fourteenth were flattered while he lived, and procured him the appellation of Great after his death. The greatest military talents that France has given birth to seemed created to earn laurels, not

129 not for themselves, but for the brow of that vain-glorious Monarch. Industry and Science toiled but for his gratification, and Genius, forgetting its dignity, willingly received from his award the fame it has since bestowed.—Louis the Fifteenth, who corrupted the people by his example, and ruined them by his expence, knew no diminution of the loyalty, whatever he might of the affection, of his people, and ended his days in the practice of the same vices and surrounded by the same luxury, in which he had passed the night.—Louis the Sixteenth, to whom scarcely his enemies ascribe any vices? for its outrages against whom faction finds no excuse but in the facility of his nature—whose devotion is at once exemplary and tolerant—who, in an age of licentiousness, is remarkable for the simplicity of his manners—whose amusements were liberal or inoffensive—and whose concessions to his people form a striking contrast with the exactions of his predecessors—Yes, the Monarch I have been describing, and, I think, not partially, has been overwhelmed with sorrow and indignities—his person has been degraded, that he might be despoiled of his crown, and perhaps the sacrifice of his crown may be followed by that of his life.—When we thus see the punishment of guilt Vol. i. K accumulated on the head of him who has not participated in it, and vice triumph in the security that should seem

the lot of innocence, we can only adduce new motives to fortify our-felves in this great truth of our religion—that the chaftifement of the one, and reward of the other, muft be looked for beyond the infictions or enjoyments of our prefent exiftence.—I do not often moralize on paper, but there are moments when one derives ones beft confolation from fo moralizing; and this eafy and fim-ple juftification of Providence, which refers all that appears inconfiftent here to the retribution of a future ftate, is pointed out lefs as the duty than the happinefs of mankind. This fingle argument of religion folves every difficulty, and leaves the mind in fortitude and peace; whilfr. the pride of fceptical philofophy traces whole volumes, only to eftablifh the doubts, and nourifh the defpair of its difciples. Adieu. I cannot conclude better than with thefe reflections, at a time when difbelief is fomewhat too fafhionable even amongft our countrymen.—Yours, andc.

I ARRIVED Amiens, Oandober.

JL Arrived here the day on which a ball was given to celebrate the return of the volunteers who had gone to the affiftance of Lifle. The French, indeed, never refufe to rejoice when they are ordered; but as thefe feftivities are not fpontaneous effufions, but official ordi-

The bombardment of Lifle commenced on the twenty-ninth of September, at three oclock in the afternoon, and continued, almoft without interruption, until the fixth of October. Many of the public buildings, and whole quarters of the town, were fb much damaged or deftroyed, that the iituation ofr the ftreets were fcarcely diftinguifhable. The houfes which the fire obliged their inhabitants to abandon, were pillaged by barbarians, more mercilefs than the Auftrians themfelves. Yet, amidft thefe accumulated horrors, the Lil-loh not only preferred their courage, but their prefence of mind: the rich incited and encouraged the poor; thofe who were unable to affift with their labour, rewarded with their wealth: the men were employed in endeavouring to extinguiſh the fire of the buildings, or in preferving their effects; while women and children fnatched the opportunity of extinguiſhing the fuzes of the bombs as foon as they fell, at which they became very daring and dexterous. During the whole of this dreadful period, not one murmur, not one propofition to fur-render, was heard from any party. The Convention decreed, amidft the wildeft enthufiafm of applaufe, that Lifle had de-ferved well of the country. Forty-two thoufand five hundred balls were fired, and the damages were eftimatt-d at forty millon of livres.

. K a nances, nances, and regulated with the fame method as a tax or a recruitment, they are of courfe languid and uninterefting. The whole of their hilarity feems to confift in the movement of the dance, in which they are by no means animated; and I have feen, even among the common people, a cotillion performed as gravely and as mechanically as the ceremonies of a Chi-nefe court.—I have always thought, with Sterne, that we were miftaken in fuppoſing the French a gay nation. It is true, they laugh much, have great gefticulation, and are extravagantly fond of dancing: but the laugh is the effect of habit, and not of a rifible fenfation; the gefture is not the agitation of the mind operating upon the body, but conftitutional volatility; and their love of dancing is merely the effect of a happy climate, (which, though mild, does not enervate,) and that love of action which ufually accompanies mental vacancy, when it is not counteracted by heat, or other phyfical caufes.

I know fuch an opinion, if publicly avowed, would be combated as falfe and fingular; yet I appeal "to thofe who have at all ftudied the French character, not as travellers, but by a refidence amongft them, for the fupport of my opinion. Every one who underftands the language, guage, and has mixed much in fociety, muft have made the fame obfervations.—See two Frenchmen at a diftance, and the vehemence pf their action, and the expreffion of their features fhall make you conclude they are dif-cuffing fome fubject, which not only interefts, but delights them. Enquire, and you will find they were talking of the weather, or the price of a waiftcoat!—In England you would be tempted to call in a peace-officer at the loud tone and menacing attitudes with which two people here very amicably adjuft a bargain for five livres.—In fhort, we miftake that for a mental quality which, in fact, is but a corporeal one; and, though the French may have many good and agreeable points of character, I do not include gaiety among the number.

I doubt milch if my friends will approve of their habitation. I confeß I am by no means fatisfied with it myfelf; and, with regard to pecuniary confiderations, my engagement is not an advantageous one.—Madame Dorval, of whom I have taken the houfe, is a character very common in France, and over which I was little calculated to have the afcendant. Offici-oufly polite in her manners, and inflexibly attentive to her intereft, fhe feemingly acquiefces in every thing you propofe. You would even fancy fhe was felicitous to ferve you; yet, after a thoufand gracious fentiments, and as many implied eulogiums on her liberality and genero-fity, you find her return, with unrelenting perfe-verance, to fome paltry proportion, by which fhe is to gain a few livres; and all this fo civilly, fo fentimentally, and fo determinedly, that you find yourfelf obliged to yield, and are duped without being deceived.

The lower clafs have here, as well as on your fide of the water, the cuftom of attributing to Minifters and Governments fome connection with, or controul over, the operations of nature. I remarked to a woman who brings me fruit, that the grapes were bad and dear this year—Ab! man dieu oui Us ne munffent pas. Il me femble que tout va mal depuis qu'on a invent la nation.

I cannot, like the imitators of Sterne, tranf-late a chapter of fentiment from every incident that occurs, or from every phynognomy I encounter; yet, in circumftances like the prefent, the mind, not ufually obferving, is tempted to comment.—I was m a milliners mop to-day, and took notice that, on my entering, fle was, at her work, learning the Marfeillois Hymn. Before I had concluded my purchafe, an officer came in to prepare her for the reception of four volunteers, whom fhe was to lodge the two enfuing nights. She afented, indeed, very gracioufly, (for a French woman never lofes the command of her features,) but a moment after, the Marfeillois, which lay on the counter, was thrown afide in a pet, and I dare fay me will not refume her patriotic tafte, nor be reconciled to the revolution, until fome days after the volunteers fhall have changed their quarters.

This quartering of troops in private houfes appears to me the moft grievous and impolitic of all taxes: it adds embarraffment to expence, invades domeftic comfort, and conveys fuch an idea of military fubjection, that I wonder any people ever fubmits to it, or any government ever ventures to impofe it.

i f I know not if the Englifh are confcious of their own importance at this moment, but it is certain they ~~are~~ the centre of the hopes and fears of all parties, I might fay of all Europe.

A patriotic air, at thls time highly popular.

K 4 The The ariftocrats wait with anxiety and folicitude a declaration of war, whilst their opponents regard fuch an event as pregnant with diftreffs, and even as the fignal of their ruin. The body of the people of both parties are averfe from in-creafing the number of their enemies; but as the Convention may be directed by other motives than the public wifh, it is impoffible to form any conclufion on the fubje? t. I am, of courfe, defirous of peace, and Ihould be fo from felfifhnefs, if I were not from philanthropy, as a ceflation of it at this time would difconcert all our plans, and oblige us to feek refuge at , which has juft all that is neceffary for our happinefs, except what is moft deniable—a mild and dry atmofphere. Yours, andc.

. Amiens, November.

JL HE arrival of my friends has occafioned a fhort fufpenfion of my correffpondence; but though I have been negligent, I affiire you, my dearbrother, I have not been forgetful; and this temporary preference of the ties of friendfhip to thofe of nature, will be excufed, when you confider our long feparation.

My My Intimacy with Mrs. D began when I firft came to this country, and at every ful-frequent vifit to the continent it has been renewed and increafed into that rational kind of attachment, which your fex feldom allow in ours, though you yourfelves do not abound in examples of it. Mrs. D is one of thofe characters which are oftener loved than admired—more agreeable than handfome—good-natured, humane, and unaffuming—and with no mental pretenfions beyond common fenfe tolerably well cultivated. The fhades of this portraiture are an extreme of delicacy, bordering on faftidi-oufnefs—a trifle of hauteur, not in manners, but difpofition—and, perhaps, a tincture of affectation. Thefe foibles are, however, in a great degree, conftitutional: fhe is more an invalid than myfelf; and ill health naturally increafes irritability, and renders the mind lefs difpofed to bear with inconveniencies: one avoids company at firft, through a fenfe of ones infirmities, till this timidity becomes habitual, and fettles almoft into averfion.—The valetudinarian, who is obliged to fly the world, in time fancies herfelf above it, and ends by fuppoing there is fome fuperiority in differing from other people. Mr. D is one of the beft men exifting—well bred and well informed; formed; yet, without its appearing to the common obferver, he is of a very fingular and original turn of mind. He is moft exceedingly nervous, and this effect of his physical con-ftruction has rendered him fo fufceptible, that he is continually agitated and hurt by circum-ftances which others pafs by unnoticed. In other refpects he is a great lover of exercife, fond of domeftic life, reads much, and has an averfion from buftle of all kind.

The banifhment of the Prieffs, which in many inftances was attended with great cruelty, has nor yet produced thofe effects which were expected from it, and which the promoters of the meafure employed as a pretext for its adoption. There are indeed now no maffes faid but by the Conftitutional Clergy; but as the people are ufually as ingenious in evading laws as legiflators are in forming them, many perfons, inftead of attending the churches, which they think profaned by prieffs who have taken the oaths,

flock to church-yards, chapels, or other places, once appropriated to religious worship, but in difufe fince the revolution, and of courfe not violated by conftitutional maffes. The cemetery of St. Denis, at Amiens, though large, is on Sundays and holidays fo crowded, that it is almoft difficult to enter it. Here the devotees flock in all weathers, fay their mafs, and return with the double fatisfaction of hav-ing preferred their allegiance to the Pope, and rifked perfecution in a caufe they deem meritorious. To fay truth, it is not very fur-pri ing that numbers fhould be prejudiced againft the conftitutional clergy. Many of them are, I doubt not, liberal and well-meaning men, who have preferred peace and fubmiffion to theological warfare, and who might not think themfelves juftified in oppofing their opinion to a national decifion: yet are there alfo many of profligate lives, who were never educated for the profeffion, and whom the circumftances of the times have tempted to embrace it as a trade, which offered fubfiftence without labour, and influence without wealth, and which at once fupplied a veil for licentionfnefs, and the means of practifing it. Such paftors, it muft be confeffed, have little claim to the confidence or refpect of the people; and that there are fuch, I do not affert, but on the moft credible information. I will only cite two inftances out of many within my own knowledge.

. i.

P—n, Bifhop of St. Omer, was originally a prieft of Arras, of vicious character, and many many of his ordinations have been fuch as one might expecl from fuch a patron.—A man of Arras, who was only known for his vicious pur-fuits, and who had the reputation of having accelerated the death of his wife by ill treatment, applied to P n to marry him a fecond time.

The good Bifhop, preferring the intereft of his friend to the falvation of his flock, advned him to relinquish the project of taking a wife, and offered to give him a cure. The propofal was accepted on the fpot, and this pious affociate of the Reverend P n was immediately in- vefted with the direction of the confciences, and the care of the morals, of an extenfive parifh. t

Acts of this nature, it is to be imagined, were purfued by cenfure and ridicule; and the latter was not often more fuccefsful than on the following occafion:—Two young men, whofe perfons were unknown to the Bifhop, one day procured an audience, and requested he would recommend them to fome employment that would procure them the means of fubfiftence. This was juft a time when the numerous vacancies that had taken place were not yet fupplied, and many livings were unfilled for want of candidates. The Bifhop, who was unwilling that the nonjuring priefts fhould have the triumph of feeing their benefices remain vacant, fell into the fnare, and propofed their taking orders. The young men expreffed their joy at the offer; but, after looking confufedly on each other, with fome difficulty and diffidence, confeffed their lives had been fuch as to preclude them from the profeffion, which, but for this impediment, would have fatisfied them beyond their hopes. The Bifhop very complaifantly endeavoured to obviate thefe objections, while they continued to accufe themfelves of all the fins. in the decalogue; but the Prelate at length ob-ferving he had ordained many worfe, the young men fmiled contemptuoufly, and, turning on their heels, replied, that if priefts were made of worfe men than they had defcribed themfelves to be, they begged to be excufed afbciating with fuch company.

Dumourier, Cuftine, Biron, Dillon, andc. are doing wonders, in fpite of the feafon; but the laurel is an ever-green, and thefe heroes gather it equally among the fnows of the Alps, and the fogs of Belgium. If we may credit the French papers too, what they call the caufe of liberty is not lefs fuecefsfully propagated by the pen than the fword. England is faid to be on the eve of a revolution, and all its inhabitants, except the King and Mr. Pitt, become Jacobins. If I did not believe " the wifh was father to the thought," I fhould read thefe aflertions with much inquietude, as I have not yet difcovered. the excellencies of a republican. form of government fufficiently to make me wifh it fubftituted for our own.—It fhould feem that the Temple of Liberty, as well as the Temple of Virtue, is placed on an afcent, and that as many inflexions and retrogradations occur in endeavouring to attain it. In the ardour of reaching thefe difficult acclivities, a fall fometimes leaves one lower than the lituation we firft fet out from; or, to fpeak without a figure, fo much power is exercifed by our leaders, and fo much fubmiffion exacted from the people, that the French are in danger of becoming habituated to a defpotifm which almoft fandlifies the errors of their ancient monarchy, while they fuppofe themfelves in the purfuit of a degree of freedom more fublime and more abfolute than has been enjoyed by any other nation.—Attempts at political as well as moral perfection, when carried beyond the limits compatible with a focial ftate, or the weaknefs of our natures, are likely to end in a depravity which moderate governments and rational ethics would have prevented.

The debates of the Convention are violent and acrimonious. Robefpierre has been accufed of afpiring to the Diandatorfhip, and his defence was by no means calculated to exonerate him. All the chiefs reproach each other with being the authors of the late mafclacres, and each fucceeds better in fixing the imputation on his neighbour than in removing it from himfelf. General reprobation, perfonal invectives, and long fpeeches, are not wanting; but every thing which tends to examination and enquiry is treated with much more delicacy and compofure: fo that I fear thefe firft legif-lators of the republic muft, for the prefent, be content with the reputation they have affigned each other, and rank amongft thole who have all the guilt, but want the courage, of affafuns.

I fubjoin an extract from a newfpaper, which has lately appeared. In fpite of the murder of fo many journalifls, and the deftruaion of the printing-offices, it treats the September bufinefs

Extract from " The Courier de l'Egalite," November,

"There are difcontented people who ftill venture to obtrude their fentiments on the public. One of them, in a public print, thus exprefies himfelf; ; I afiert,

I afiert, that the newfpapers are I bid and devoted to falfehood. At this price they purchafe the liberty of appearing; and the exclusive privilege they enjoy, as well as the contradictory and lying ailertions they all contain, prove the truth of what I advance. They are all preachers of liberty, yet never was liberty fo (hamefully outraged—of refpect for property, and property was at no time fo little held facred—of perfonal fecurity, yet when were there committed fo many mafclacres? and, at the very moment I am writing, new ones are premeditated. They call vehemently for fubmiffion, and obedience to the laws, but the laws had never lefs influence; and while our compliance with fuch as we are even ignorant of is exacted, it is accounted a crime to execute thofe

in force. Every municipality has its own arbitrary code—every battalion, every private foldier, exercifes a fovereignty, a moft ab-/blute defpotifm j and yet the Gazettes do not ceafe to boaft the excellence of fuch a government. They have, one and all, attributed the mafacles of the tenth of Auguft and the fecond of September, and the days following each, to a popular fermentation. The monitors! they have been careful not to tell us, that each of thefe horrid fcenes (at the prifons, at La jforce, at the Abbaye, andc. andc.) was prefided by muni-cipal officers In their fcarfs, who pointed out the victims, and gave the fignal for their aflaffination. It was (continue the Journals) the error of an irritated people—and yet their ma-giltrates were at the head of it: it was a tnomentary error; yet this error of a moment continued during fix whole days of the cooleft reflection—it was only at the clofe of the feventh that Petion made his appearance, and affeanded to perfuade the. people tq. defift. The. airaflins left off only from fatigue, and

fo freely, that the editor will doubtlefs foon be filenced. Admitting thefe accufations to be unfounded, what ideas muft the people have of their magiftrates, when they are credited? It is the prepofieffion of the hearer that gives authenticity to fiction; and fuch atrocities would neither be imputed to, nor believed of, men not already bad. Yours, andc.

December.

DEAR BROTHER, the public prints ftill continue ftongly to infinuate, that England is prepared for an infurrection, and Scotland already in actual rebellion: but I know the character of our countrymen too well to be perfuaded that they have stt this moment they are preparing to begin again. The Journals do not tell us that the chief of thefe Scclcrats f employed fub-ordinate afiaffins, whom they caufed to be clandestinely murdered in their turn, as though they hoped to deftroy the proof of their crime, and efcape the vengeance that awaits them. But the people themfelves were accomplices In the deed, for the Garde Nationale gave their affiftance, andc. andc.

)-We have no term in the Engliih language that conveys an adequate meaning for this word—it feems to exprefs the extreme of human wick-ednefs and atrocity.

Vol. j. L? adopted adopted new principles as early as they would adopt a new mode, or that the vifionary anar-chifts of the French government can have made many profelytes among an humane and rational people. For many years we were content to let France remain the arbitrefs of the lighter departments of tafte: lately fhe has ceded this province to us, and England has dictated with uncontefted fuperiority. This I cannot think very ftrange, for the eye in time becomes fatigued by elaborate finery, and requires only the introduction of fimple elegance to be attracted by it. But if, while we export fashions to this country, we fhould receive in exchange her republican fyftems, it would be a ftrange revolution indeed; and I think, in fuch a cotn-merce, we fhould be far from finding the balance . in our favour. I have, in fact, little folicitude about thefe diurnal falfehoods, though I am not altogether free from alarm as to their tendency. I cannot help fufpecting it is to influence the people to a belief that luch difpofitions exift in England as preclude the danger of a war, in cafe it fhould be thought neceffary to facrifice the King. I am more confirmed in this opinion, from the recent difcovery, with the circumftances attending it, of a fecret iron cheft at the Thuil-leries. The man who had been employed to .,-conftruct

147 cenfruct: this recefs informs the minifter Roland, whoj inftead of communicating the matter to the Convention, as it was very natural he fhould do on an occafion of fo much importance, and requiring it to be opened in the prefence of proper witneffes, goes privately himfelf, takes the papers found into his own poffeffion, and then makes an application for a committee to examine them. Under thefe fufpicious and myfterious appearances, we are told that many letters, andc. are found, which inculcate the King; and perhaps the fate of this unfortunate Monarch is to be decided by evidence not admiffible with juftice in the cafe of the obfcureft malefactor. Yet Roland is the hero of a party who call him, far excellence the virtuous Roland! Perhaps you will think, with me, that this epithet is mifapplied to a man, who has rifen from an obfcure fituation to that of firft minifter, without being porteffed of talents of that brilliant or prominent clafs which fometimes force them-felves into notice without the aid of wealth or the fupport of patronage.

Roland was infpector of manufactories in this place, and afterwards at Lyons; and I do not go too far in advancing, that a man of very rigid virtue could not, from fuch a ftation, have j. attained attained fo fuddenly the one he now poffeffes. Virtue is of an unvarying and inflexible nature: it difdains as much to be the flatterer of mobs, as the adulator of Princes: yet how often muft he, who rifes fo far above his equals, have ftooped below them? How often muft he have facrificed both his reajfon and his principles? How often have yielded to the little, and oppofed the great, not from conviction, but in-tereft? For in this the meaneft of mankind refemble the moft exalted. He beftows not his confidence on him who refifts his will, nor fubfcribes to the advancement of one whom he does not hope to influence.—I may almoft venture to add, that more diffimulation, meaner conceffions, and more tortuous policy, are requifite to become "the idol of the people, than are practifed to acquire and preferve the favour of the moft potent Monarch in Europe. The French, however, do not argue in this manner, and Roland is at prefent very popular, and his popularity is faid to be greatly fupported by the literary talents of his wife.

I know not if you rightly underftand thefe party diftinctions among a fet of men whom you muft regard as united in the common caufe of eftablifhing a republic in France, but you have have fometimes had occafion to remark in England, that many may amicably concur in the ac-tomplifhment of a work, who differ extremely about the participation of its advantages; and this is already the cafe with the Convention. Thofe who at prefent poffefs all the power, and are infinitely the ftrongeft, are wits, moralifts, and philofophers by profejfon, having Briffot, Roland, Petion, Condorcet, andc. at their head: their opponents are adventurers of a more def-perate caft, who make up by violence what they want in numbers, and are led by Robefpierre, Danton, Chabot, andc. andc. The only diftinction of thefe parties is, I believe, that the firft are vain and fyftematical hypocrites, who have origi-jially corrupted the minds of the people by vi-fionary and infidious doctrines, and now maintain their fuperiority by artifice and intrigue: their opponents, equally wicked, and more daring, juftify that turpitude which the others feek to dif-guife, and appear almoft as bad they are. The credulous people are duped by both; while the cunning of the one, and the vehemence of the other, alternately prevail.—But fomewhat too much of politics, as my defign is

in general rather to mark their effect on the people, than to enter on more immediate discussions.

13 Having

Having been at the Criminal Tribunal to-day, I now recollect that I have never yet described to you the costume of the French Judges.—Perhaps when I have, before had occasion to speak of it, your imagination may have glided to Westminster Hall, and depicted to you the scarlet robes and voluminous wigs of its respectable magistrates: but if you would form an idea of a magistrate here, you must bring your mind to the abstraction of Crambe, and figure to yourself a Judge without either gown, wig, or any of those venerable appendages. Nothing indeed can be more becoming or gallant, than this judicial accoutrement—it is black, with a silk cloak of the same colour, in the Spaniard form, and a round hat, turned up before, with a large plume of black feathers. This, when the magistrate happens to be young, has a very theatrical and romantic appearance; but when it is worn by a figure a little Ethiopian, or with a large bushy perriwig, as I have sometimes seen it, the effect is still less awful, and a stranger, on seeing such an apparition in the street, is tempted to suppose it a period of jubilee, and that the inhabitants are in masquerade; In vain are the people flattered with a chimerical equality—it cannot exist in a civilized

Hate, fate, and if it could exist any where, it would not be in France. The French are habituated to subordination—they naturally look up to something superior—and when one class is degraded, it is only to give place to another.—The pride of the noblesse is succeeded by the pride of the merchant—the influence of wealth is again realized by cheap purchases of the national domains—the abandoned abbey becomes the delight of the opulent trader, and replaces the demolished chateau of the feudal institution. Full of the importance which the commercial interest is to acquire under a republic, the wealthy man of business is easily reconciled to the oppression of the superior classes, and enjoys, with great dignity, his new elevation. The counting-house of a manufacture of woollen cloth is as inaccessible as the loudoir of a Marquis; while the flowered brocade gown and well-powdered curls of the former offer a much more imposing exterior than the chintz robe de chambre and dishevelled locks of the more affable man of fashion.

It is now the custom for all people to address each other by the appellation of Citizen; and whether you are a citizen or not—whether you inhabit Paris, or are a native of Peru—still it is an indication of aristocracy, either to or to use, any other title. This is all congruous with the system of the day: the abuses are real, the reform is imaginary. The people are flattered with sounds, while they are losing in essentials; and the permission to apply the appellation of Citizen to its members, is but a poor compensation for the despotism of a department or a municipality.

I have read, in some French author, a maxim to this effect:—(And with your friends as though they should one day be your enemies; and the existing government seems amply to have profited by the admonition of their countryman: for notwithstanding they affirm, that all France supports, and all England admires them, this does not prevent their exercising a most vigilant inquiry over the inhabitants of both countries. It is already sagaciously hinted, that Mr. Thomas Paine may be a spy, and every householder who receives a lodger or visitor, and every proprietor who lets a

houfe, is obliged to regifter the names of thofe he entertains, or who are his tenants, and to become re-Iponfible for their conduct. This is done at the municipality, and all who thus venture to change their refidence, of whatever age, fex, or or condition, muft prefent themfelves, and fub-mit to an examination. The power of the municipalities Is indeed very great; and as they are chiefly felected from the lower clafs of fhop-keepers, you may conclude that their authority is not exercifed with much politenefs or moderation.

The timid or indolent inhabitant of London, whofe head has been filled with the Baftilles and police of the ancient government, and who would as foon have ventured to Conftantinople as to Paris, reads, in the debates of the Convention, that France is now the freeeft country in the world, and that frangers from all corners of it flock to offer their adorations in this new Temple of Liberty. Allured by thefe defcriptions, he refolves on the journey, willing, for once in his life, to enjoy a tafte of the bleffing in fublimite, which he now learns has hitherto been allowed him only in the grofs element.—He experiences a thoufand impofitions on landing with his baggage at Calais, but he fubmits to them without murmuring, becaufe his countrymen at Dover had, on his embarkation, already kindly initiated him into this fcience of taxing the iniquitive fpirit of travellers. After infcribing his name, and rewarding ing the cuftom-houfe officers for rummaging his portmanteau, he determines to amufe him-felf with a walk about the town. The firft cen-tinel he encounters ftops him, becaufe he has no cockade: he purchafes one at the next fiop, (paying according to the exigency of the cafe,) and is fuffered to pafs on. When he has fettled Iiis bill at the Auberge "a fangjoife" and imagines he has nothing to do but to purfue his journey, he finds he has yet to procure himfelf a paffport. He waits an hour aiid an half for the officer, who at length appears, and, with a rule in one hand, and a pen in the other, begins to meafure the height, and take an inventory of the features of the aftonifhed franger. By the time this ceremony is finifhed, the gates are fhut, and he can proceed no farther, till the morrow. He departs early, and is awakened twice on the road to Boulogne to produce his paffport: ftill, however, he keeps his temper, concluding, that the new light has not yet made its way to the frontiers, and thatthefe troublefome precautions may be neceffary near a port. He continues his route, and, by degrees, becomes habituated to this regimen of liberty; till, perhaps, on the fecond day, the validity of his paffport is difputed, the municipality who granted it have the reputation of ariftocracy, oj: the whole is informal, and he muft muft be content to wait while a meffenger is difpatched to have it rectified, and the officers eftablifh the feverity of their patriotifm at the expence of the franger.

Our traveller, at length, permitted to depart, feels his patience wonderfully diminifhed, execrates the regulations of the coaft, and the ignorance of fmall towns, and determines to ftop a few days and obferve the progrefs of freedom at Amiens. Being a large commercial place, he here expects to behold all the happy effects of the new conllitution; he congratulates himfelf on travelling at a period when he can procure information, and difcufs his political opinions, unannoyed by fears of fgate prifons, and fpies of the police. His landlord, however, acquaints him, that his appearance at the Town Houfe cannot be difpenfed with—he attends three or four different hours of appointment, and is each time fent away, (after waiting half an hour with the

valets de chambre in the antichamber,) and told that the municipal officers are engaged. As an Englishman, he has little relief for these subordinate sovereigns, and difficult audiences—he hints at the next coffee-house that he had imagined a stranger might have rested two days in a free country, without without being sneaked, and questioned, and without detailing his history, as though he were suspected of desertion; and ventures on some implied comparison between the ancient "Mon-sieur le Commandant," and the modern "Cito-yen Maire."—To his utter astonishment he finds, that though there are no longer emporiums of the police, there are Jacobin informers; his discourse is reported to the municipality, his business in the town becomes the subject of conjecture, he is concluded to be "un homme sans ai-eu," and arrested as "suspect;" and it is not without the interference of the people to whom he may have been recommended at Paris, that he is released, and enabled to continue his journey.

At Paris he lives in perpetual alarm. One night he is disturbed by a visit domiciliaire, another by a riot—one day the people are in insurrection for bread, and the next murdering each other at a public festival; and our countryman, even after making every allowance for the confusion of a recent change, thinks himself very fortunate if he reaches England in safety, and will, for the rest of his life, be satisfied with such a degree of liberty as is secured to him by the constitution of his own country.

You

You see I have no design of tempting you to pay us a visit; and, to speak the truth, I think those who are in England will show their wisdom by remaining there. Nothing but the state of

Mrs. D's health, and her dread of the fever at this time of the year, detains us; for every day subtracts from my courage, and adds to my apprehensions.—Yours, andc.

Amiens, January,

VANITY, I believe, my dear brother, is not so innoxious a quality as we are desirous of supposing. As it is the most general of all human failings, so is it regarded with the most indulgence: a latent consciousness averts the censure of the weak, and the wife, who flatter themselves with being exempt from it, plead in its favour, by ranking it as a foible too light for serious condemnation, or too inoffensive for punishment. Yet, if vanity be not an actual vice, it is certainly a potential one—it often leads us to seek reputation rather than virtue, to substitute appearances for realities, and to prefer the eulogiums of the world to the approbation of our own minds. When it takes possession

158 possession of an uninformed or an ill-constituted mind, it becomes the source of a thousand errors, and a thousand absurdities. Hence, youth seeks a pre-eminence in vice, and age in folly; hence, many boast of errors they would not commit, or claim distinction by investing themselves with an imputation of excess in some popular absurdity—duels are courted by the daring, and vaunted by the coward—he who trembles at the idea of death and a future fate, when alone, proclaims himself an atheist or a free-thinker in public—the water-drinker, who suffers the penitence of a week for a super-natural glaze, recounts the wonders of his intemperance—and he who does not mount the gentlest animal without trepidation, plumes himself on breaking down horses, and his perils in the chace. In short, whatever order of mankind we contemplate, we shall perceive that the portion of vanity allotted us by nature, even if it

is not corrected by a found judgement, and rendered fubfervient to ufeul purpofes, is fure either to degrade or miflead us.

I was led into this train of reflection by the conduct of our Anglo-Gallican legiflator, Mr. Thomas Paine. He has lately compofed a fpeech, which was tranflated and read in his prefence, pretence, (doubtlefs to his great fatisfactkm,) ia which he infills with much vehemence on the neceffity of trying the King; and he even, with little credit to his humanity, gives intimations of prefumed guilt. Yet I do not fufpec! Mr. Paine to be of a cruel or unmerciful nature; and, moft probably, vanity alone has infligated him to a proceeding which, one would wifh to believe, his heart difapproves. Tired of the part he was playing, and which, it muft be confeffed, was not calculated to flatter the cen-furer of Kings and the reformer of conftitu-tions, he determined to fit no longer for whole-hours in colloquy with his interpreter, or in mute contemplation, like the Chancellor in the Critic; and the fpeech to which I have alluded was compofed. Knowingthatlenientopinionswouldmeet no applaufe from the tribunes, he inlifts himfelf on the fide of feverity, and accufes all the Princes in the world as the accomplices of Louis the Sixteenth, expreffes his defire for an uni-verfal revolution, and, after previoufly afluring-the Convention the King is guilty, recommends that they may instantly proceed to his trial. But, after all this tremendous eloquence, perhaps Mr. Paine had no malice in his heart: he "may only be folicitous to preferve his reputation from decay, and to indulge his felf felf-importance by affifting at the trial of a Monarch whom he may not wifh to fuffer.—I think, therefore, I am not wrong in aflerting, that. Vanity is a very mifchievous counfellor.

The little diftreffes I formerly complained of, as arifing from the paper currency, are nearly removed by a plentiful emiffion of fmall affig-nats, and we have now pompous affignments on the national domains for ten fols: we have, likewife, pieces coined from the church bells in circulation, but moft of thefe difappear as foon as iflued. You would fcarcely imagine that this copper is deemed worthy to be hoarded; yet fuch is the peoples averfion from the paper, and fuch their miftruft of the government, that not an houfewife will part with one of thefe pieces while fhe has an affignat in her poffeffion; and thofe who are rich enough to keep a few livres by them, amafs and bury this copper trea-fure with the utmoft folicitude and fecrefy.

A tolerably accurate fcale of the national confidence might be made, by marking the progrefs of thefe fufpicious interments. Under the firft Aflembly, people began to hide their gold; during the reign of the fecond they took the fame affectionate care of their filver; and, fince the meeting meeting of the Convention, they feem equally anxious to hide any metal they can get. If one were to defcribe the prefent age, one might, as far as regards France, call it, both literally and metaphyically, the Iron Age; for it is certain the character of the times would juftify the metaphoric application, and the difappearance of every other metal the literal one. As the French are fond of claffic examples, I fhall not be furprized to fee an iron coinage, in imitation of Sparta, though they feem in the way of having one reafon lefs for fuch a meafure than the Spartans had, for they are already in a ftate to defy corruption; and if they were not, I think a war with England would fecure the purity of their morals from being endangered by too much commercial intercourfe.

I cannot be displeased with the civil things you say of my letters, nor at your valuing them so much as to preserve them; though, I assure you, this fraternal gallantry is not necessary, on the account you intimate, nor will our countrymen suffer, in my opinion, by any comparisons I can make here. Your ideas of French gallantry are, indeed, very erroneous—it may differ in the manner from that practised in England, but is far from having any claim to superiority.

Vol. i. M Perhaps

Perhaps I cannot define the pretensions of the two nations in this respect better than by saying, that the gallantry of an Englishman is a sentiment—that of a Frenchman a system. The first, if a lady happen to be old or plain, or indifferent to him, is apt to limit his attentions to respect, or utility—now the latter never troubles himself with these distinctions: he is repulsed by no extremity of years, nor deformity of feature; he adores, with equal ardour, both young and old, nor is either often shocked by his visible preference of the other. I have seen a youthful beau kiss, with perfect devotion, a ball of cotton dropped from the hand of a lady who was knitting stockings for her grandchildren. Another pays his court to a belle in her climacterics, by bringing gummillets to the favourite lap-dog, or attending, with great assiduity, the egresses and regresses of her Angola, who paces slowly out of the room ten times in an hour, while the door is held open by the complaisant Frenchman with a most respectful gravity.—Thus, you see, France is to the old what a masquerade is to the ugly—the one confounds the disparity of age as the other does that of person; but indiscriminate adoration is no compliment to youth, nor is it any privilege to beauty. We may therefore conclude, that though France may be the Elysium of old women, England is that of the young. When I first came into this country, it reminded me of an island I had read of in the Arabian Tales, where the ladies were not deemed in their bloom till they verged towards seventy; and I conceived the project of inviting all the belles, who had been half a century out of fashion in England, to cross the Channel, and begin a new career of admiration 1 Yours, andc.

Amiens.

DEAR BROTHER,

JL Have thought it hitherto a self-evident proposition—that of all the principles which can be inculcated in the human mind, that of liberty is least susceptible of propagation by force. Yet a Council of Philosophers (disciples of Rousseau and Voltaire) have sent forth Dumourier, at the head of an hundred thousand men, to instruct the people of Flanders in the doctrine of freedom. Such a missionary is indeed invincible, and the defenceless towns of the Low Countries have been converted and pillaged by a benevolent crusade of the philan-

By the civil agents of the executive power.

12 thropic thropic assertors of the rights of man. These warlike Propagandises, however, do not always convince without experiencing resistance, and ignorance sometimes opposes, with great obstinacy, the progress of truth. The logic of Dumourier did not enforce conviction at Gemappe, but at the expence of fifteen thousand of his own army, and, doubtless, a proportionate number of the unconverted.—Here let me forbear every expression tending to levity: the heart recoils at such a slaughter of human victims; and, if a momentary smile be excited by these Quixotisms, it is checked

by horror at their consequences! Humanity will lament their destruction; but it will likewise be indignant to learn, that, in the official account of this battle, the killed were estimated at three hundred, and the wounded at six!—But, if the people be sacrificed, they are not deceived. The disabled sufferers who are returning to their homes in different parts of the republic, betray the turpitude of the government, and expose the fallacy of these bloodless victories of the gazettes. The pedants of the Convention are not unlearned in the history of the Praetorian Bands and the omnipotence of armies; and an offensive war is undertaken to give occupation to foldiers, whose inactivity might produce reflection, or whose discontent did (content might prove fatal to the new order of things.—Attempts are made to divert the mind from the real misery experienced at home, by relations of useless conquests abroad; the substantial losses, which are the price of these imaginary benefits, are palliated or concealed; and the circumstances of an engagement is known but by individual communication, and when subsequent events have nearly effaced the remembrance of it.—By these artifices, and from motives at least not better, and, perhaps, worse than those I have mentioned, will population be diminished, and agriculture impeded: France will be involved in present distresses, and consigned to future want; and the deluded people be punished in the miseries of their own country, because their unprincipled rulers have judged it expedient to carry war and devastation into another.

One of the distinguishing features in the French character is a strange fear—scarcely a day passes that it does not force itself on one's observation. It is not confined to the thinking part of the people, who know that passion and irritability avail nothing; nor to those who, not thinking at all, are, of course, not moved by any thing: but is equally possessed by every

Man of rank and condition, whether you class them by their mental endowments, or their temporal possessions. They not only (as, it must be confessed, is too commonly the case in all countries,) bear the calamities of their friends with great philosophy, but are nearly as reasonable under the pressure of their own. The grief of a Frenchman, at least, partakes of his imputed national complaisance, and, far from intruding itself on society, is always ready to accept of consolation, and join in amusement. If you say your wife or relations are dead, they reply coldly, "Il faut se consoler" or if they visit you in an illness, "Il faut prendre patience" Or tell them you are ruined, and their features then become something more attenuated, the shoulders something more elevated, and a more commiserating tone confesses, (*Il est bien mal-heureux—Mais enfin que-voulez vous?*) and in the same instant they will recount some good fortune at a card party, or expatiate on the excellence of a ragout.—Yet, to do them justice, they only offer for your comfort the same arguments they would have found efficacious in promoting their own.

This disposition, which preserves the tranquillity of the rich, indurates the sense of wretchedness in the poor; it supplies the place of fortitude in the one, and that of patience in the other; and, while it enables both to endure their own particular evils, it makes them submit quietly to a weight and excess of public evils, which any nation but their own would sink under, or resist. Amongst shopkeepers, servants, and, without incurring personal odium, it has the effect of what would be deemed in England impenetrable assurance. It forces per-tinaciously an article not wanted, and

preferves the inflexibility of the features at a detected. imposition: it inspires fervants with arguments in defence of every misdemeanour in the whole domestic catalogue; it renders them insensible either of their negligences or the consequences of them; and endows them with a happy facility of contradicting with the most obsequious politeness.

A gentleman of our acquaintance dined at a table d'hôte, where the company were annoyed by a very uncommon and offensive smell. On cutting up a fowl, they discovered the smell to have been occasioned by its being dressed without any other preparation than that of plucking. They immediately went for the host, and told him, that the fowl had been dressed without

Meat having been drawn: but, far from appearing disconcerted, as one might expect, he only replied, " Cela se pourroit bien, Monsieur" Now an English Boniface, even though he had already made his fortune, would have been mortified at such an incident, and all his eloquence would scarcely have produced an unflinching apology.

Whether this national indifference originates in a physical or a moral cause, from an obstacle in their corporeal formation or a perfection in their intellectual one, I do not pretend to decide; but whatever be the cause, the effect is enjoyed with great modesty. So little do the French pique themselves on this valuable stoicism, that they acknowledge being more subject to that human weakness called feeling, than any other people in the world. All their writers abound in pathetic exclamations, sentimental phrases, and allusions to " la sensibilité Française," as though they imagined it proverbial. You can scarcely hold a conversation with a Frenchman without hearing him detail, with an expression of feature not always analogous, many very affecting sentences. He is desolate, dejected or afflicted—he has? a cruel misfortune, he occurs, or he occurs never; and the well-placing placing of these dolorous assertions depends rather upon the judgement and eloquence of the speaker, than the seriousness of the case which gives rise to them. For instance, the despair and desolation of him who has lost his money, and of him whose head is ill dressed, are of different degrees, but the expressions are usually the same. The debates of the Convention, the debates of the Jacobins, and all the public prints, are fraught with proofs of this appropriated susceptibility, and it is often attributed to persons and occasions where one should not much expect to find it. A quarrel between the legislators as to who was most concerned in promoting the massacres of September, is reconciled with a "sweet and enthusiastic excess of fraternal tenderness." When the clubs dispute on the expediency of an insurrection, or the necessity of more frequent employment of the Guillotine, the debate terminates by overflowing of sensibility from all the members who have engaged in it!

At the assassinations in one of the prisons, when all the other miserable victims had perished, the mob discovered one Jonneau, a member of the Assembly, who had been confined for kicking another member named Grangevine. As the assassins probably had no orders on the subject, he was brought forth from amidst heaps of murdered companions, and a messenger dispatched to the Assembly, (which during these scenes met as usual,) to enquire if they acknowledged Jonneau as a member. A decree was passed in the affirmative, and Jonneau brought by the assassins, with the decree fastened on his breast, in triumph to his colleagues, who, we are told,

at this instance of respect for themselves shed tears of tender-ness and admiration at the conduct of monsters, the sight of whom should seem revolting to human nature.

Perhaps the real pang I have before noticed, and these pretensions to sensibility, are a natural consequence one of the other. It is the history of the beasts confession—we have

When the massacres began, the wife and friends of Jonneau petitioned Grangeneuve on their knees to consent to his enlargement; but Grangeneuve was implacable, and Jonneau continued in prison till released by the means above-mentioned. It is observable, that at this dreadful moment the utmost strictness was observed, and every form literally enforced in granting the discharge of a prisoner. A suspension of all laws human and divine was allowed to the assassins, while those only that secured them their *vi Aims* were rigidly adhered to.

only only to be particularly deficient in any quality, to make us solicitous for the reputation of it; and after a long habit of deceiving others, we finish by deceiving ourselves. He who feels no companion for the distresses of his neighbour, knows that such indifference is not very estimable; he therefore studies to disguise the coldness of his heart by the exaggeration of his language, and supplies, by an affected excess of sentiment, the total absence of it.—The gods have not (as you know) made me poetical, nor do I often tax your patience with a simile, but I think this French sensibility is to genuine feeling, what their paste is to the diamond—it gratifies the vanity of the wearer, and deceives the eye of the superficial observer, but is of little use or value, and when tried by the fire of adversity quickly disappears.

You are not much obliged to me for this long letter, as I own I have scribbled rather for my own amusement than with a view to yours.—Contrary to our expectation, the trial of the King has begun, and though I cannot properly be said to have any real interest in the affairs of this country, yet I take a very sincere one in the fate of its unfortunate Monarch—indeed our whole house has worn an appearance of dejection since the commencement of the business. Most people seem to expect: it will terminate favourably, and, I believe, there are very few who do not wish it. Even the Convention seem at present disposed to be merciful; and as they judge now, so may they be judged hereafter! Yours.

Amiens, Feb. 15.

JL Did not, as I promised, write immediately on my return from Chantilly; the person by whom I intended to send my letter having already set out for England, and the rule I have observed for the last three months of entrusting nothing to the post but what relates to our family affairs, is now more than ever necessary. I have before requested, and I must now insist, that you make no allusion to any political matter whatever, nor even mention the name of any political person. Do not imagine that you are qualified to judge of what is prudent, or what may be written with safety—I repeat, no one in England can form an idea of the suspicion that pervades every part of the French government.

I cannot I cannot venture to answer decisively your question respecting the King—indeed the subject is so painful to me, that I have hitherto avoided reverting to it. There certainly was, as you observe, some sudden alteration in the dispositions of the Assembly between the end of the trial and the final judgement. The causes were most

probably various, and must be fought for in the worst vices of our nature—cruelty, avarice, and cowardice. Many, I doubt not, were guided only by the natural malignity of their hearts; many acted from fear, and expected to purchase impunity for former compliances with the court by this popular expiation; a large number are also supposed to have been paid by the Duke of Orleans—whether for the gratification of malice or ambition, time must develop.—But, whatever were the motives, the result was an iniquitous combination of the worst of a set of men, before selected from all that was bad in the nation, to profane the name of justice—to sacrifice an unfortunate, but not a guilty Prince—and fix an indelible stain on the country.

Among those who gave their opinion at large, you will observe Paine; and, as I intimated in a former letter, it seems he was at that time rather allured by the vanity of making a speech, that should be applauded, than by any real desire of injuring the King. Such vanity, however, is not pardonable: a man has a right to ruin himself, or to make himself ridiculous; but when his vanity becomes baneful to others, as it has all the effect, so does it merit the punishment, of vice.—Of all the rest, Condorcet has most powerfully disgusted me. The avowed wickedness of Thuriot or Marat inspires one with horror; but this cold philosophic hypocrite excites contempt as well as detestation. He seems to have wavered between a desire to preserve the reputation of humanity, which he has affected, and that of gratifying the real depravity of his mind.—Would one have expected, that a speech full of benevolent systems, mild sentiments, and aver-sion from the effusion of human blood, was to end in a vote for, and recommendation of, the immediate execution of his Sovereign?—But such a conduct is worthy of him, who has repaid the benefits of his patron and friend by a persecution which ended in his murder.

You will have seen, that the King made some trifling requests to be granted after his decease,

The Duke de Rochefaucault.

and and that the Convention ordered him to be told, that the nation, always just, "accorded them in part. Yet this just and magnanimous people refused him a preparation of only three days, and allowed him but a few hours—suffered his remains to be treated with the most scandalous indecency—and debated seriously, whether or no the Queen should receive some little tokens of affection he had left for her.

The King's enemies had so far succeeded in depreciating his personal courage, that even his friends were apprehensive he might not sustain his last moments with dignity. The event proves how much injustice have been done him in this respect; as well as in many others. His behaviour was that of a man who derived his fortitude from religion—it was that of pious resignation, not ostentatious courage; it was marked by none of those instances of levity and indifference which, at such a time, are rather symptoms of distraction than resolution; he exhibited the composure of an innocent mind, and the serenity that became the occasion; he seemed to be occupied in preparing for death, but not to fear it.—I doubt not but the time will come, when those who have sacrificed him may envy the last moments of Louis the Sixteenth!

That the King was not guilty of the principal charges brought against him, has been proved indubitably—not altogether by the assertions of those who favour him, but by the confession of his enemies. He was, for example, accused of planning

the infurrection of the tenth of August; yet not a day passes that both parties in the Convention are not disputing the priority of their efforts to dethrone him, and to erect a republic; and they date their machinations long before the period on which they attribute the first aggression to the King.—Mr. Sourdut, and several other writers, have very ably demonstrated the falshood of these charges; but the circulation of such pamphlets was dangerous—of course, secret and limited; while those which tended to deceive and prejudice the people were dispersed with profusion, at the expence of the government.—I have seen one of these, written in coarse language, and replete with vulgar abuse, purposely calculated for the lower classes in the country, who are more open to gross impositions than those of the same rank in towns; yet I have no doubt, in my own mind, that all these artifices would have proved unavailing, had the decision been left to the nation at large: but they were intimidated, if not convinced, and the mandate of the Convention, which forbids this sovereign people to exercise their judgement, was obeyed with as much submission, and perhaps more reluctance, than an edict of Louis the Fourteenth.

Postscript of the *Courier de l'Egalite*, Sept. 29:

"The present minister (Roland) takes every possible means in his power to enlighten and inform the people in whatever concerns their real interests. For this purpose he has caused to be printed and distributed, in abundance, the accounts and papers

The French seem to have no energy but to destroy, and to renit nothing but gentleness or papers relative to the events of the tenth of August. We have yet at our office a small number of these publications, which we have distributed to our subscribers, and we still give them to any of our fellow-citizens who have opportunities of circulating them."

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The King appealed, by his Council, to the People; but the Convention, by a decree, declared his appeal of no validity, and forbade all persons to pay attention to it, under the severest penalties.

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infancy. They bend under a firm or oppressive administration, but become restless and turbulent under a mild Prince or a minority.

The fate of this unfortunate Monarch has made me reflect, with great seriousness, on the conduct of our opposition writers in England. The literary banditti who now govern France began their operations by ridiculing the King's private character—from ridicule they proceeded to calumny, and from calumny to treason; and perhaps the first libel that degraded him in the eyes of his subjects opened the path from the palace to the scaffold.—I do not mean to attribute the same pernicious intentions to the authors on your side the Channel, as I believe them, for the most part, to be only mercenary, and that they would write panegyrics as soon as satires, were they equally profitable. I know too, that there is no danger of their producing revolutions in England—we do not suffer our principles to be corrupted by a man because he has the art of rhyming nothings into consequence, nor suffer another to overturn the government because he is an orator. Yet, though these men may not be very mischievous, they are very reprehensible; and, in a moment like the present, contempt and neglect should supply the place of that punishment against which our liberty of the press secures them.

It is not for a person no better informed than myself to pronounce on systems of government—still less do I affect to have more enlarged notions than the generality of mankind; but I may, without Hiking those imputations, venture to say, I have no chinkish or irrational deference for the persons of Kings. I know they are not, by nature, better than other men, and a neglected or vicious education may often render them worse. This does not, however, make me less respect the office. I respect it as the means chosen by the people to preserve internal peace and order—to banish corruption and petty tyrants—and give vigour to the execution of the laws.—Regarded in this point of view, I cannot but lament the mode which has lately prevailed of endeavouring to alienate the consideration due to our Kings public character, by personal ridicule. If an individual were attacked in this manner, his house beset with spies, his conversation with his family listened to, and the most trifling actions of his life recorded, it would be deemed unfair and illiberal, and he who should practice such meannefs would be thought worthy of no punishment more respectful than what might be inflicted by an oaken censor, or an admonitory heel.—But it will be said, a King is not an individual, and that such a habit, or such an amusement, is beneath the dignity of his character. Yet would it be but consistent in those who labour to prove, by the public acts of Kings, that they are less than men, not to exact, that, in their private lives, they should be more.—The great prototype of modern satyrists, Junius, does not allow that any credit should be given a Monarch for his domestic virtues; is he then to be reduced to an individual, only to scrutinize his foibles, and is his station to serve only as the medium of their publicity? Are these literary miners to penetrate the recesses of private life, only to bring to light the drofs? Do they analyze only to discover poisons? Such employments may be congenial to their natures, but have little claim to public remuneration. The merit of a detractor is not much superior to that of a flatterer; nor is a Prince more likely to be amended by imputed follies, than by undeserved panegyrics. If any man wished to represent his King advantageously, it could not be done better than by remarking, that, after all the watchings of assiduous necessity, and the laborious researches of interested curiosity, it appears, that his private life affords no other subjects of ridicule than, that he is temperate, domestic, and (Economical, and, as is natural to an active mind, wishes to be informed of whatever happens not to be familiar to him. It were to be desired that some of these accusations were applicable to those who are so much scandalized at them: but they are not littlenefs—the littlenefs is in him who condescends to report them; and I have often wondered that men of genius should make a traffic of gleaning from the refuse of anti-chambers, and retailing the anecdotes of pages and footmen!

" And fly from petty tyrants to the throne."

Goldsmith.

N 2 to,

You will perceive the kind of publications I allude to; and I hope the situation of France, and the fate of its Monarch, may suggest to the authors a more worthy employ of their talents, than that of degrading the executive power in the eyes of the people.

It "

Amlens, Feb. 2.

JL Told you, I believe, in a former letter, that the people of Amiens were all aristocrats: they have, nevertheless, two extremely popular qualifications—I mean filth and incivility. I am, however, far from imputing either of them to the revolution. This grossness of behaviour has long existed under the palliating description of "la Françoise picarde" and the floors and stairs of many houses will attest their preeminence in filth to be of a date much anterior to the revolution.—If you purchase to the amount of an hundred livres, here are many shopkeepers who will not send your purchases home; and if the articles they show you do not answer your purpose, they are mostly fullen, and often rude. No appearance of fatigue or infirmity suggests to them the idea of offering you a seat; they contradict you with impertinence, address you with freedom, and conclude with cheating you if they can. It was certainly on this account that Sterne would not agree to dying in the inn at Amiens. He might, with equal justice, have objected to any other house; and I am sure if he thought them an unpleasant people to die amongst, he would have found them still worse to live with.—My observation

as to the civility of aristocrats does not hold good here—indeed I only meant that those who ever had any, and were aristocrats, still preferred it.

Amiens has always been a commercial town, inhabited by very few of the higher nobles; and the mere gentry of a French province are not very much calculated to give a tone of softness and respect to those who imitate them. You may, perhaps, be surprized that I should express myself with little consideration for a class which, in England, is so highly respectable: there gentlemen of merely independent circumstances are not often distinguishable in their manners from those of superior fortune or rank. But, in France, it is different: the inferior nobles are stiff, ceremonious, and often-tatious; while the higher ranks were always polite to strangers, and affable to their dependents. When you visit some of the former, you go through as many ceremonies as though you were to be invested with an order, and rise up and sit down so many times, that you return more fatigued than you would from a cricket match; while with the latter you are just as much at your ease as is consistent with good breeding and propriety, and a whole circle is never put in commotion at the entrance and exit of every individual who makes part of it. Any one not prepared for these formalities, and who, for the first time, saw an assembly of twenty people all rising from their seats at the entrance of a single beau, would suppose they were preparing for a dance, and that the new comer was a musician. For my part I always find it an economy of strength (when the locality makes it practicable) to take possession of a window, and continue standing in readiness until the hour of visiting is over, and calm is established by placing the card tables.—The revolution has not annihilated the difference of rank, though it has abolished titles; and I counsel all who have remains of the gout or inflexible joints, not to frequent the houses of ladies whose husbands have been ennobled only by their offices, those whose genealogies are modern, or the collaterals of ancient ones, whose claims are so far removed as to be doubtful. The society of all these is very exigent, and to be avoided by the infirm or indolent.

I send you with this a little collection of airs, which. I think you will find very agreeable.

The

The French music has not, perhaps, all the reputation it is entitled to. Rousseau has declared it to be nothing but doleful psalmodies; Gray calls a French concert " Une tintamarre de diablerie and the prejudices inspired by these great names are not easily obliterated. One submits one's judgement to theirs, even when one's taste is refractory.—The French composers seem to excel in marches, in lively airs that abound in striking passages calculated for the popular taste, and yet more particularly in those simple melodies they call romances: they are often in a very charming and singular style, without being either so delicate or affecting as the Italian. They have an expression of plaintive tenderness, which makes one tranquil rather than melancholy; and which, though it bears more footing than interesting, is yet very delightful. Yours, andc.

Amiens, February.

I.

Do all possible justice to the liberality of my countrymen, who are become such passionate admirers of the French; and I cannot but lament their having been so unfortunate in the choice of the era from whence they date this new friendship. It is, however, a proof, that their regards are not the effect of that kind of vanity which esteems objects in proportion as they are esteemed by the rest of the world; and the sincerity of an attachment cannot be better evinced than by its surviving irretrievable disgrace and universal abhorrence. Many will swell the triumph of a hero, or add a trophy to his tomb; but he who exhibits himself with a culprit at the gallows, or decorates the gibbet with a wreath, is a friend indeed.

If ever the character of a people were repugnant to amity, or inimical to connection, it is that of the French for the last three years.

In this short space they have formed a compendium of all the vices which have marked as many preceding ages:—the cruelty and treachery of the league—the fedition, levity, and intrigue of the Fronde—with the licentiousness and political corruption of more modern epochs. Whether you examine the conduct of the nation at large, or that of its chiefs and leaders, your feelings revolt at the one, and your integrity despises the other. You see the idols created by Folly, degraded by Caprice;—the authority obtained by Intrigue, bartered by

The editor of the *Courier de l'Egalite*, a most decided patriot, thus expresses himself on the injuries and insults received by the King from the Parisians, and their municipality, previous to his trial:

"I know that Louis is culpable—but are we to double his punishment before it is pronounced by the law? Indeed one would say, that instead of being guided by the humanity and philosophy which dictated the revolution, we took lessons of barbarity from the most ferocious savages! Let us be virtuous, if we would be republicans; if we go on as we do, we never shall, and must have recourse to a despot: for of two evils it is better to choose the least."

This editor, whose opinion of the present politics is thus expressed, is so truly a revolutionist, and so confidential a patriot, that, in August last, when almost all the journalists were murdered, his paper was the only one that, for some time, was allowed to reach the departments.

A name given to the party in opposition to the court during Cardinal Mazarin's ministry. See the origin of it in the *Memoirs* of that period.

Proffigacy; Proffigacy;—and the perfidy and corruption of one side to be balanced by the barbarity and levity of the other, that the mind, unable to decide on the preference of contending vices, is obliged to find repose, though with regret and disgust, in acknowledging the general depravation.

La Fayette, without very extraordinary pretensions, became the hero of the revolution. He dictated laws in the Assembly, and prescribed oaths to the Garde Nationale—and, more than once, insulted, by the triumph of ostentatious popularity, the humiliation and distress of a persecuted Sovereign. Yet when La Fayette made an effort to maintain the constitution to which he owed his fame and influence, he was abandoned with the same levity with which he had been adopted, and sunk, in an instant, from a dictator to a fugitive!

Neckar was an idol of another description. He had already departed for his own country, when he was hurried back precipitately, amidst universal acclamations. All were full of projects either of honour or recompence—one was for decreeing him a statue, another proposed him a pension, and a third hailed him the father of the country. But Mr. Neckar knew the French character, and very wisely declined these pompous offers; for before he could have received the first quarter of his pension, or the statue could have been modelled, he was glad to escape, probably not without some apprehensions for his head!

The reign of Mirabeau was something longer. He lived with popularity, was fortunate enough to die before his reputation was exhausted, was deposited in the Pantheon, apotheosified in form, and his bust placed as a companion to that of Brutus, the tutelary genius of the Assembly.—Here, one might have expected, he would have been quit for this world at least; but the fame of a patriot is not secured by his death, nor can the gods of the French be called the immortal gods: the deification of Mirabeau is suspended, his money put in sequestration, and a committee appointed to enquire, whether a profligate, expensive, and necessitous character was likely to be corruptible. The Convention, too, seems highly indignant that a man, remarkable only for vice and atrocity, should make no conscience of betraying those who were as bad as himself; and that, after having prostituted his talents from the moment he was conscious of them, he should should not, when associated with such immaculate colleagues, become pure and disinterested. It is very probable that Mirabeau, whose only aim was power, might rather be willing to share it with the King, as Minister, than with so many competitors, and as only Prime Speech-Maker to the Assembly: and as he had no reason for suspecting the patriotism of others more inflexible than his own, he might think it not impolitic to anticipate a little the common course of things, and betray his companions, before they had time to stipulate for selling him. He might, too, think himself more justified in disposing of them in the grove, because he did not thereby deprive them of their right of bargaining for themselves, and each other in detail. The King might also be solicitous

La Porte, Steward of the Household, in a letter to Du-quesnoy, dated February, 1791, informs him that Barrere, Chairman of the Committee of Domains, is in the best disposition possible.—A letter of Talon, (then Minister,) with remarks in the margin by the King, says, that "Sixteen of the most violent members on the patriotic side may be brought over to the court, and that the expence will not exceed two millions of livres:

that fifteen thousand will be sufficient for the first payment; and only a Yes or No from his Majesty will fix these members in his interest, and direct their future conduct."

First Not, I prefer, the brutal Dufijucnoy hereafter mentioned.

to purchase safety and peace at any rate; and it is unfortunate for himself and the country that

conduct." It likewise observes, that these two millions will cost the King nothing, as the affair is already arranged with the Liquidator General.

Extract of a letter from Chambonas to the King, dated June 18, 1792:

"Sire,

"I inform your Majesty, that my agents are now in motion. I have just been converting an evil spirit. I cannot hope to have made him good, but I believe I have neutralized him. To-night we shall make a strong effort to gain San-terre, (Commandant of the Garde Nationale?) and I have ordered myself to be awakened to hear the result. I shall take care to humour the different interests as well as I can. The Secretary of the Cordeliers club is now secured.—All these people are to be bought, but not one of them can be hired. I have had with me one Mollet, a physician. Perhaps your Majesty may have heard of him. He is an outrageous Jacobin, and very difficult, for he will receive nothing. He insists, previous to coming to any definitive treaty, on being named Physician to the Army. I have promised him, on condition that Paris is kept quiet for fifteen days. He is now gone to exert himself in our favour. He has great credit at the Caffé de Procope, where all the journalists and "enrages of the Faubourg St. Germain are frequent. I hope he will keep his word. The orator of the people, the noted Le Maire, a clerk at the Post-office, has promised tranquillity for a week, and he is to be rewarded.

"As he had not recourse to the only effectual means till it was too late. But all this rests on no better evidence than the papers found at the Tuilleries; and as something of this kind was necessary to aliment the exhausted fury of the populace, I can easily conceive that it was thought more prudent to sacrifice the dead, than the living; and the fame of Mirabeau being

"A new Gladiator has appeared lately on the scene, one Roné Breton, arrived from England. He has already been exciting the whole quarter of the Poilbnerie in favour of the Jacobins, but I shall have him laid low. Petion is to come to-morrow for fifteen thousand livres, for an account of thirty thousand per month which he received under the administration of Dumourier, for the secret service of the police.—I know not in virtue of what law this was done, and it will be the last he shall receive from me. Your Majesty will, I doubt not, understand me, and approve of what I suggest.

(Signed) "Chambonas."

Extract from the Papers found at the Tuilleries.

It is impossible to warrant the authenticity of these Papers; oh their credibility, however, rests the whole proof of the most weighty charges brought against the King. So that it must be admitted, that either all the full patriots of the revolution, and many of those still in repute, are corrupt, or that the King was condemned on forged evidence.

First This sum was probably only to propitiate the Mayor; and if Chamblanas, as he proposed, refused farther payment, we may account for Petion's subsequent conduct.

left less valuable than the safety of those who survived him, there would be no great harm in attributing to him what he was very likely to have done.—The corruption of a notorious courtier would have made no impression: the King had already been overwhelmed with such accusations, and they had lost their effect: but to have seduced the virtuous Mirabeau, the very Confucius of the revolution, was a kind of profanation of the holy fire, well calculated to revive the languid rage, and extinguish the small remains of humanity yet left among the people.—It is sufficiently remarkable, that notwithstanding the court must have seen the necessity of gaining over the party now in power, no vestige of any attempt of this kind has been discovered; and every criminating negotiation is ascribed to the dead, the absent, or the insignificant. I do not, however, presume to decide in a case so very delicate; their pander-gifts in England may adjust the claims of Mirabeau's integrity, and that of his accusers, at their leisure.

Another patriot of distinguished note, and more peculiarly interesting to our countrymen, because he has laboured much for their conversion, is Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun.—

Vol. i. O He He was in England some time as Plenipotentiary from the Jacobins, charged with establishing treaties between the clubs, publishing seditious manifestos, contracting friendly alliances with discontented scribblers, and gaining over neutral or hostile newspapers.—But, besides his political and ecclesiastical occupations, and that of writing letters to the Constitutional Society, it seems this industrious Prelate had likewise a correspondence with the Agents of the Court, which, though he was too modest to surcharge his fame by publishing it, was, nevertheless, very profitable. I am sorry his friends in England are mostly averse from his episcopacy, otherwise they might have provided for him, as I imagine he will have no objection to relinquish his claims on the see of Autun. He is now under accusation, and, were he to return, he would not find the laws quite so ceremonious here as in England. After labouring with impunity for months together to promote an insurrection with you, a small private barter of his talents would here cost him his head; and I appeal to the Bishops' friends in England, whether there can be a proper degree of freedom in a country where a man is refused the privilege of disposing

of himself to the best advantage.

To the eternal obloquy of France, I must include, in the list of those once popular, the *ci-devant* Duke of Orleans.—But it was an unnatural popularity, unaided by a single talent, or a single virtue, supported only by the venal efforts of those who were almost his equals in vice, though not in wealth, and who found a grateful exercise for their abilities in at once profiting by the weak ambition of a bad man, and corrupting the public morals in his favour. The unrighteous compact is now dissolved; those whom he has ruined himself to bribe have already forsaken him, and perhaps may endeavour to palliate the disgrace of having been called his friends, by becoming his persecutors. Thus, many of the primitive patriots are dead, or fugitives, or abandoned, or treacherous; and I am not without fear lest the new race should prove as evanescent as the old.

The virtuous Roland, whose first resignation was so instrumental in dethroning the King, In the beginning of December, the Council General of the municipality of Paris opened a register and appointed a committee to receive all accusations and complaints

whatever against Roland, who, in return, furnished them to deliver in their accounts to him as Minister of the interior, and accused them, at the same time, of the most scandalous speculations.

So a man has now been obliged to resign a second time, charged with want of capacity, and suspected of malversation; and this virtue, which was so irreproachable, which it would have been so dangerous to dispute while it served the purposes of party, is become hypocrisy, and Roland will be fortunate if he returns to obscurity with only the loss of his gains and his reputation.

The credit of Brissot and the Philosophers is declining fast—the clubs are unpropitious, and no party long survives this formidable omen; so that, like Macbeth, they will have waded from one crime to another, only to obtain a short-lived dominion, at the expense of eternal infamy, and an unlamented fall.

Dumouriez is still a successful General, but he is denounced by one faction, insulted by another, insidiously praised by a third; and if he should persevere in serving them, he has more disinterested rectitude than I suspect him of, or than they merit. This is also another of the Jacobin ministry who were so fatal to the King, and it is evident that, had he been permitted to entertain the same opinion of all these people as they now profess to have of each other, he would have been still living, and secure on his throne.

After so many mutual infidelities, it might be expected that one party would grow indifferent, and the other suspicious; but the French never despair: new hordes of patriots prepare to possess themselves of the places they are forcing the old ones to abandon, and the people, eager for change, are ready to receive them with the momentary and fallacious enthusiasm which ever precedes disgrace; while those who are thus intriguing for power and influence are, perhaps, secretly devising how it may be made most subservient to their personal advantage.

Yet, perhaps, these amiable levities may not be displeasing to the Constitutional Society and the revolutionists of England, and as the very faults of our friends are often endearing to us, they may extend their indulgence to the humane and liberal precepts of the Jacobins, and the massacres of September.—To confess the truth, I am not a little ashamed for my country when I see addresses from England to a Convention, who have just been accusing each other of assassination and robbery, or, in the ardour of a debate, threatening, cuffing, and knocking each other down. Exclusive of their moral character, considered only as it appears from their reciprocal criminations, they have so little pretension to dignity, or even decency, that it seems a mockery to address them as the political representatives of a powerful nation deliberating upon important affairs.—If a bearer of one of these congratulatory compliments were not apprized of the forms of the House, he would be rather astonished, at his introduction, to see one member in a menacing attitude, and another denying his veracity in terms perfectly explicit, though not very civil. Perhaps, in two minutes, the partisans of each opponent all rise and clamour, as if preparing for a combat—the President puts on his hat as the signal of a storm—the subordinate disputants are appeased—and the revilings of the principal ones renewed; till, after torrents of indecent language, the quarrel is terminated by a fraternal embrace.—I think, after I do not make any assertions of this nature from conjecture or partial evidence. The journals of the time attest that the

scenes I describe occur at almost every debate.—As a proof, I subjoin some extracts taken nearly at hazard r/

"January yth, Convention Nationale, Prefidence de Treil-hard.—The debate as opened by an address from the department after such a scene, an addresser must feel a little humiliated, and would return without finding his pride greatly increased by his mission.

partment of Finisterre, expressing their wishes, and adding, that these were likewise the wishes of the nation at large—that Marat, Robespierre, Bazire, Chabot, Merlin, Danton, and their accomplices, might be expelled the Convention as caballers and intriguers paid by the tyrants at war with France."

The account of this debate is thus continued—"The almost daily troubles which arise in the Convention were on the point of being renewed, when a member, a friend to order, spoke as follows, and, it is remarked, was quietly listened to:

CITIZENS, If three months of uninterrupted silence has given me any claim to your attention, I now ask it in the name of our afflicted country. Were I to continue silent any longer, I should render myself as culpable as those who never hold their tongues. I see we are all sensible of the painfulness of our situation. Every day dissatisfied with ourselves, we come to the debate with the intention of doing something, and every day we return without having done any thing. The people expect from us wise laws, and not disorders and tumults. How are we to make these wise laws, and keep twenty-five millions of people quiet, when we, who are only seven hundred and fifty individuals, give an example of perpetual riot and disorder? What signifies our preaching the unity and indivisibility of the republic, when we cannot maintain peace and union amongst ourselves? What good can we expect to do amidst such scandalous disturbances, and while we spend our o 4 time It is very remarkable, that, on the same on which the friends of liberty and equality of

Manchester time in attending to delations, accusations, and imputations, for the most part utterly unfounded? For my part, I see but one means of attaining any thing like dignity and tranquillity, and that is, by submitting ourselves to coercive regulations.

Here follow some proposals, tending to establish a little decency in their proceedings for the future; but the account from whence this extract is taken goes on by remarking, that this invitation to peace was no sooner finished, than a new scene of disturbance took place, to the great loss of their time, and the scandal of all good citizens. One should imagine, that if ever the Convention would think it necessary to assume an appearance of dignity, or, at least, of seriousness and order, it would be in giving their judgement relative to the King. Yet, in determining how a series of questions should be discussed, on the arrangement of which his fate seems much to have depended, the solemnity of the occasion appears to have had no weight. It was proposed to begin by that of the appeal to the people. This was so violently combated, that the Convention would hear neither party, and were a long time without debating at all. Petion mounted the tribune, and attempted to restore order but the noise was too great for him to be heard. He at length, however, obtained silence enough to make a motion. Again the murmurs recommenced. Kabaud de St. Etienne made another attempt, but was equally unsuccessful. Those that were of an opposite opinion refused to hear him, and

both parties jostled up and rushed together to the middle of the Hall. The most dreadful tumult took place, and the President, with great difficulty, procured a calm. Again the storm began and

Manchesterers signified themselves by a most patriotic compliment to the Convention, beginning with "Français vous êtes têtés," they were, at that very moment, discussing a petition from numbers of Parisians who had been thrown into prison without knowing either their crime or their accusers, and were still detained under the same arbitrary circumstances.—The law of the constitution is, that every person arrested shall be interrogated within twenty-four hours; but as these imprisonments were the work of the republican ministers, the Convention seemed to think it indelicate to interpose, and these citizens of a country whose freedom is so much envied by the Manchester Society will most likely remain in duress as long as it shall be convenient to those who have placed them there. A short time after, Villette, who is a news-writer and deputy, was cited to appear before the municipality of Paris, under the charge of having inserted in his paper "equivocal phrases and anti-civic expressions, tending to diminish the confidence due to the municipality."—Villette, as being a member of the Convention, obtained redress; but had he been only a journalist, the liberty of the press would not have refused him.—On the same day, complaint was made in the Assembly, that one man had been arrested instead of another, and confined for some weeks, and it was agreed unanimously, (a thing that does not often occur,) that the powers exercised by the Committee of Inspection were incompatible with liberty.

and a member told them, that if they voted in the affirmative, those on the left side (Robespierre, andc.) would not wait the result, but have the King assassinated. "Yes! Yes! (re-founded from all parts) the Scurrs of Paris will murder him!"—Another violent disorder ensuing, it was thought no decree could be passed, and, at length, amidst this scene of riot and confusion, the order of questions was arranged, and in such a manner as to decide the fate of the King.—It was determined, that the question of his guilt should precede that of the appeal to the people. Had the order of the questions been changed, the King might have been saved, for many would have voted for the appeal in the first instance who did not dare do it when they found the majority resolved to pronounce him guilty.

The patriots of Belfast were not more fortunate in the adaptation of their civilities—they addressed the Convention, in a strain of great piety, to congratulate them on the success of their arms in the "cause of civil and religious liberty."—The harangue was interrupted by the mal-a-propos entrance of two deputies, who complained of having been beaten, almost hanged, and half drowned, by the people of Chartres, for belonging, as they were told, to an assembly of atheistical persecutors of religion; and this Convention, whom the Society of Belfast admire for propagating "religious liberty" in other countries, were in a few days humbly petitioned, from various departments, not to destroy it in their own. I cannot, indeed, suppose they have really such a design; but the Contempt with which they treat religion has occasioned an alarm, and given the French an idea of their piety very different from that so kindly conceived by the patriots of Belfast.

Surveillance. -Sec Debates, December.

-(At this time the municipalities were empowered to search any house by night or day; but their visits domiciliares, as they they are called, being made chiefly in the night, a decree has since ordained that they shall take place only during the day. Perhaps an Englishman may think the latter quite sufficient, considering that France is the freest country in the world, and, above all, a republic.

I entrust this to our friend Mrs., who is leaving France in a few days; and as we are now on the eve of a war, it will be the last letter you will receive, except a few lines occasionally on our private affairs, or to inform you of my health. As we cannot, in the state Mrs. D is in, think of returning to England at present, we must trust ourselves to the hospitality of the French for at least a few weeks, and I certainly will not abuse it, by sending any remarks on their political affairs out of the country. But as I know you interest yourself much in the subject; and read with partiality my attempts to amuse you, I will continue to throw my observations on paper as regularly as I have been accustomed to do, and I hope, ere long, to be the bearer of the packets myself. I here also renew my injunction, that no part of my correspondence that relates to French politics be communicated to any one, not even my mother. What I have written has been merely to gratify your own curiosity, and I should be extremely mortified if my opinions were repeated even in the little circle of our private acquaintance. I deem myself perfectly justifiable in imparting my reflections to you, but I have a sort of delicacy that revolts at the thoughts of being, in the remotest degree, accessory to conveying intelligence from a country in which I reside, and which is so peculiarly situated as France is at this moment. My feelings, my humanity, are averse from those who govern, but I should regret to be the means of injuring

injuring them. You cannot mistake my intentions, and I conclude by seriously reminding you of the promise I exacted previous to any political discussion.-Adieu.

Amlens.

JL Have been to-day to take a last view of the convents: they are now advertised for sale, and will probably soon be demolished. You know my opinion is not, on the whole, favourable to these institutions, and that I thought the decree which extinguished them, but which secured to the religious already professed the undisturbed possession of their habitations during life, was both politic and humane. Yet I could not see the present state of these buildings without pain—they are now inhabited by volunteers, who are passing a noviciate of intemperance and idleness, previous to their reception in the army; and those who recollect the peace and order that once reigned within the walls of a monastery, cannot but be stricken with the contrast. I felt both for the expelled and present possessors, and, perhaps, gave a mental preference to the superstition which founded such establishments, over the persecution that destroys them.

The resigned and pious votaries, who once supposed themselves secure from all the vicissitudes of fortune, and whose union seemed dissoluble only by the common lot of mortality, are now many of them dispersed, wandering, friendless, and miserable. The religion which they cherished as a comfort, and practised as a duty, is now pursued as a crime; and it is not yet certain that they will not have to choose between an abjuration of their principles, and the relinquishment of the means of existence.—The military occupiers offered nothing very alleviating to such unpleasant reflections; and I beheld with as much regret the collecting of these scattered individuals, as the separation

of those whose habitations they fill. They are most of them extremely young, taken from villages and the service of agriculture, and are going to rifle their lives in a cause detested perhaps by more than three parts of the nation, and only to secure impunity to its oppressors.

It has usually been a maxim in all civilized states, that when the general welfare necessitates some act of partial injustice, it shall be done with the utmost consideration for the sufferer, and that the required sacrifice of moral to political expediency shall be palliated, as much as the circumstances will admit, by the manner of carrying it into execution. But the French legislators in this respect, as in most others, truly original, disdain all imitation, and are rarely guided by such confined motives. With them, private rights are frequently violated, only to facilitate the means of public oppressions—and cruel and iniquitous decrees are rendered still more so by the mode of enforcing them.

I have met with no person who could conceive the necessity of expelling the female religious from their convents. It was, however, done, and that with a mixture of meanness and barbarity which at once excites contempt and detestation. The oftenable reasons were, that these communities afforded an asylum to the superstitious, and that by their entire suppression a sale of the houses would enable the nation to afford the religious a more liberal support than had been assigned them by the Constituent Assembly. But they are shallow politicians who expect to destroy superstition by persecuting those who practise it: and so far from adding, as the decree insinuates, to the pensions of the nuns, they have now subjected them to an oath which, to those whose consciences are timid, will act as a prohibition to their receiving what they were before entitled to.

The real intention of the legislature in thus entirely dispersing the female religious, besides the general hatred to every thing connected with religion, is, to possess itself of an additional resource in the buildings and effects, and, as is imagined by some, to procure numerous and convenient state prisons. But, I believe, the latter is only an aristocratic apprehension, suggested by the appropriation of the convents to this use in a few places, where the ancient prisons are full.—Whatever it is to answer, the purpose has been effected in a way disgraceful to any national body, except such a one as the Convention; and, though it be easy to perceive the cruelty of such a measure, yet as, perhaps, its injustice may not strike you so forcibly as if you had had the same opportunities of investigating it as I have, I will endeavour to explain, as well as I can, the circumstances that render it so peculiarly aggravated.

I need not remind you, that no order is of very modern foundation, nor that the present century has, in a great degree, exploded the fashion of compounding for sins by endowing religious institutions. Thus, necessarily, by the great change which has taken place in the expence of living, many establishments that were poorly endowed must have become unable to support themselves, but for the efforts of those who were attached to them. It is true, that the rent of land has increased as its produce became more valuable; but every one knows that the lands dependent on religious houses have always been let on such moderate terms, as by no means to bear a proportion to the necessities they were intended to supply; and as the monastic vows have long ceased to be the frequent choice of the rich, little increase has been made to the original stock

by the acceffion of new votaries:—yet, under all thefe difadvantages, many focieties have been able to rebuild their houfes, embellifh their churches, purchafe plate, andc. andc. The love of their order, that fpirit of ceconomy for which they are remarkable, and a perfevering induftry, had their ufual effeands, and not only banifhed poverty, but became a fource of wealth. An indefatigable labour at fuch works as could be profitably

Vol. i.—P difpofed difpofed of, the education of children, and the admiffion of boarders, were the means of enriching a number of convents, whofe proper revenues would not have afforded them even a fubfiftence.

But the fruits of active toil, or voluntary privation, have been confounded with thofe of expiatory bequeft and miftaken devotion, and have alike become the prey of a rapacious and unfeeling government. Many communities are driven from habitations built abfolutely with the produce of their own labour. In fome places they were refufed even their beds and linen; and their flock of wood, corn, andc. provided out of the favings of their penfions, (under-ftood to be at their own difpofal,) have been feized, and fold, without making them the fmalleft compenfation.

Thus deprived of every thing, they are fent into the world with a prohibition either to live fveral of them together, wear their habits, or practife their religion; yet their penfions J are are too fmall for them to live upon but m fociety, or to pay tl e ufual expence of boarding; many of them have no other means of procuring fecular drefses, and ftill more will imagine themfelves criminal in abftaining from the mode of worfhip they have been taught to think falutary. It is alfo to be remembered, that women of fmall fortune in France often embraced the monaftic life as a frugal retirement, and, by fining the whole they were portefled of in. this way, they expected to fecure a certain provifion, and to place themfelves beyond the reach of future viciffitudes: yet, though the fums paid on thefe occafions can be eafily afcertained, no indemnity has been made; and many will be obliged to violate their principles, in order to receive a trifling penfion, perhaps much lefs than the intereft of their money would have produced without lofs of the principal.

Two religious, who boarded wth a lady I had occafion to fee fometimes, told me, that they had been ftridtly enjoined not to drefs like each other in any way.

The penfions are from about feventeen to twenty-five pounds

But the views of thefe legiflating philofo-phers are too fublimely extenfive to take in the pounds fterling per annum.—At the time I am writing, the neceharics of life are increafcd in price nearly two-fifths of what they were formerly fold at, and are daily becoming dearer. The Convention are not always infenfible to this—the pay of the foot folder is more than doubled.

p 2 wrongs wrongs or fufferings of cotemporary individuals; and not being able to difguife, even to themfelves, that they create much mifery at prefent, they promife incalculable advantages to thofe who fhall happen to be alive fome centuries hence! Moft of thefe poor nuns are, however, of an age to preclude them from the hope of enjoying this Millennium; and they would have been content en attendant thefe glorious times, not to be deprived of the ne-ceffaries of life, or marked out as objects of perfecution.

The private diftreffes occafioned by the dif-folution of the convents are not the only con-quences to be regretted—for a time, at leaft, the lofs muft: certainly be a public one. There will now be no means of inftruction for females, nor any refuge for thofe who are without friends or relations: thoufands of orphans muft be thrown unprotected on the world, and guardians, or firtgle men left with the care of children, have no way to difpofe of them properly. I do not contend that the education of a convent is the beft poffible: yet are there many advantages attending it; and I believe it will readily be granted, that an education not quite perfect is better than no education at all. It would would not be very difficult to prove, that the fyftems of education, both in England and France, are extremely defective; and if the characters of women are generally better formed in one than the other, it is not owing to the fuperiority of boarding-fchools over convents, but to the difference of our national manners, which tend to produce qualities not neceffary, or not valued, in France.

The moft diftinguifhed female excellencies in England are an attachment to domeftic life, an attention to its (Economies, and a cultivated tmderftanding. Here, any thing like houfe-wifery is not expected but from the lower claries, and reading or information is confined chiefly to profefled wits. Yet the qualities fo much efteemed in England are not the effect of education: few domeftic accomplifhments, and little ufeul knowledge, are acquired at a boarding-fchool; but finally the national character afferts its empire, and the female who has gone through a courfe of frivolities from fix to fixteen, who has been taught that the firft " human principle" fhould be to give an elegant tournure to her perfon, after a few years diffipation, becomes a good wife and mother, and a rational companion.

In France, young women are kept in great feclufion: religion and oeconomy form a principal part of conventual acquirements, and the natural vanity of the fex is left to develope it-felf without the aid of authority, or infittillation by precept—yet when releafed from this fober tuition, manners take the afcendant here as in England, and a woman commences at her marriage the acra of coquetry, idlenefs, freedom, and rouge.—We may therefore, I think, venture to conclude, that the education of boarding-fchool is better calculated for the rich, that of a convent for the middling clafles and the poor; and, in confequence of that, the fuppreffion of this laft in France will principally affect: thofe to whom it was moft beneficial, and to whom the want of it will be moft dangerous.

A committee of wife men are now forming a plan of public inftruction, which is to excel every thing ever adopted in any age or country i and we may therefore hope that the defects which have hitherto prevailed, both in theirs and our own, will be remedied. All we have to apprehend is, that, amidft fo many wife heads, more than one wife plan may be produced, and a difficulty of choice keep the rifing generation in a fort of abeyance, fo that they muft remain fterile, fterile, or may become vitiated, while it is determining in what manner they fhall be cultivated.

It is almoft a phrafe to fay the refources of France are wonderful, and this is no lefs true than generally admitted. Whatever be the want or lofs, it is no fooner known than fup-plied, and the imagination of the legiflature feems to become fertile in proportion to the exigence of the moment.—I was in fome pain at the difgrace of Mirabeau, left this new kind of retrofpective judgement fhould depopulate the Pantheon of

the few divinities that remained; more especially when I considered that Voltaire, notwithstanding his merits as an enemy to revelation, had been already accused of aristocracy, and even Rouffleau himself might not be found impeccable. His contradictory might not, perhaps, in the eyes of a committee of philosophical Rhadmanthus, atone for his occasional admiration of christianity, and thus some crime, either of church or state, disfranchise the whole race of immortals, and their fame scarcely outlast the dispute about their earthly remains.

Alluding to the disputes between the Convention and the person who claimed the exclusive right to the remains of Rouffleau.

My concern, on this account, was the more justifiable, because the great fallibility which prevailed among the patriots, and the very delicate state of the reputation of those who retained their political existence, afforded no hope that they could ever fill the vacancies of the Pantheon.—But my fears were very superfluous—France will never want subjects for an apotheosis, and if one divinity be dethroned, another and another still succeeds," all equally worthy as long as they continue in fashion.—The phrenzy of despair has supplied a success for Mirabeau, in Le Pelletier. The latter had hitherto been little heard of, but his death offered an occasion for exciting the people / too favourable to be neglected: his patriotism and his virtues immediately increased in a ratio to the use which might be made of them; a dying speech proper for the purpose was composed, and it was decreed unanimously, that he

De St. Targeau.

J At the first intelligence of his death, a member of the Convention, who was with him, and had not yet had time to study a speech, confessed his last words to have been, " Jai frnid"—This, however, would have made no figure on the banners of a funeral procession; and Le Pelletier was made to die, like the hero of a tragedy, uttering blank verse.

should. should be installed in all the rights, privileges, and immortalities of the degraded Riquette.—The funeral that preceded these divine awards was a farce which tended more to provoke a massacre of the living, than to honour the dead; and the Convention, who vowed to sacrifice their animosities on his tomb, do so little credit to the conciliating influence of St. Fargeaus virtues, that they now dispute with more acrimony than ever.

The departments, who begin to be extremely submissive to Paris, thought it incumbent on them to imitate this ceremony; but as it was rather an act of fear than patriotism, it was performed here with so much economy, and so little inclination, that the whole was cold and paltry.—An altar was erected on the great market-place, and so little were the people affected by the catastrophe of a patriot whom they were informed had sacrificed his life in their

There is every reason to believe that Le Pelletier was not singled out for his patriotism.—It is said, and with much appearance of probability, that he had promised Paris, with whom he had been intimate, not to vote for the death of the King and, on his breaking his word, Paris, who seems to have not been perfectly in his senses, assassinated him.—Paris had been in the Garde nationale Corps, and, like most of his brethren, their cause, that the only part of the business which seemed to interest them was the extravagant gestures of a woman in a dirty white dress, hired to act the part of a "

pleureufe," or mourner, and whose sorrow appeared to divert them infinitely.—It will ever be so where the people are not left to consult their own feelings. The mandate that orders them to assemble may be obeyed but "that which passeth now" is not to be enforced. It is a limit prescribed by Nature herself to authority, and such is the aversion of the human mind from dictature and brethren, was strongly attached to the Kings person.—Rage and despair prompted him to the commission of an act, which can never be excused, however the perpetrator may imagine himself the mere instrument of Divine vengeance.—Notwithstanding the most vigilant research, he escaped for some time, and wandered as far as Forges deaux, a little town in Normandy.—At the inn where he lodged, the extravagance of his manner giving suspicions that he was insane, the municipality were applied to secure him. An officer entered his room while he was in bed, and intimated the purpose he was come for. Paris affected to comply, and, turning, drew a pistol from under the clothes, and shot himself.—Among the papers found upon him, were some affecting lines, expressive of his contempt for life, and adding, that the influence of his example was not to be dreaded, since he left none behind him that deferred the name of Frenchmen!

refraining, refraining, that here an official rejoicing is often more serious than these political exactions of regret levied in favour of the dead. Yours, andc. Sec.

March 2.

JL HE partisans of the French in England alledge, that the revolution, by giving them a government founded on principles of moderation and rectitude, will be advantageous to all Europe, and more especially to Great Britain, which has so often suffered by wars, the fruit of their intrigues.—This reasoning would be unanswerable could the character of the people be changed with the form of their government; but, I believe, whoever examines its administration, whether as it relates to foreign powers or internal policy, will find that the same spirit of intrigue, fraud, deception, and want of faith, which dictated in the cabinet of Mazarine or Louvois, has been transfused, with the addition of meanness and ignorance, into a Constitutional

The Executive Council is composed of men who, if ever they were well-intentioned, must be totally unfit for the government of an extensive republic.—Monge, the Minister of the National Ministry, or the Republican Executive Council.—France had not yet determined on the articles of her future political creed, when agents were dispatched to make proselytes in England, and, in proportion as she assumed a more popular form of government, all the qualities which have ever marked her as the disturber of mankind seem to have acquired new force. Every where the ambassadors of the republic are accused of attempts to excite revolt and discontent, and England is now forced the Marine, is a professor of geometry; Garat, Minister of Justice, a gazette writer; Le Brun, Minister of Foreign Affairs, ditto j and Pache, Minister of the Interior, a private tutor.—Whoever reads the debates of the Convention, will find few indications of real talents, and much pedantry and ignorance. For example, Anacharsis Cloots, who is a member of the Committee of Public Instruction, and who one should, of course, expect not to be more ignorant than his colleagues, has lately advised them to distress the enemy by invading Scotland, which he calls the granary of England.

For some time previous to the war, all the French priests, and even the members of the Convention, in their debates, announced England to be on the point of an

infurrection. The intrigues of Chauvelin, their ambassador, to verify this prediction, are well known. Brissot, Le Brun, and others who have since been executed, were particularly charged by the adverse party with provoking the war with England. Robespierre, and those who succeeded, were not so desirous of involving

France into a war because she could not be persuaded to an insurrection.—Perhaps it may be said, that the French have taken this part only for their own security, and to procure adherents in the common cause; but this is all I contend for—that the politics of the old government actuate the new, and that they have not, in abolishing courts and royalty, abolished the perfidious system of endeavouring to benefit, by creating dissensions and dissention among their neighbours.—Louvois supplied the Protestants in the Low Countries with money, while he persecuted them in France. The agents of the republic, more economical, yet directed by the same motives, seek out corruption by precepts of sedition, and arm the leaders of revolt with the rights of man; but, forgetting the maxim that charity should begin at home, in their zeal for the freedom of other countries, they leave no portion of it for their own!

Louis the Fourteenth over-ran Holland and the Palatinate to plant the white flag, and lay the inhabitants under contribution—the republicans in a foreign war, and their humane efforts were directed merely to excite a civil one.—The third article of accusation against Roland is, having sent twelve millions of livres to England, to assist in procuring a declaration of war.

France sends an army to plant the tree of liberty, levy a donation patriotique, and place garrisons in the towns, in order to preserve their freedom.—Kings have violated treaties from the desire of conquest—these virtuous republicans do it from the desire of plunder; and, previous to opening the Scheldt, the invasion of Holland was proposed as a means of paying the expenses of the war. I have never heard that even the most ambitious Potentates ever pretended to extend their subjugation beyond the persons and property of the conquered; but these militant dogmatists claim an empire even over opinions, and insist that no people can be free or happy unless they regulate their ideas of freedom and happiness by the variable standard of the Jacobin club. Far from being of Hudibras philosophy, they seem to think the mind as tangible as the body, and that, with the assistance of an army, they may as soon lay one "by the heels" as the other.—Now this I conceive to be the worst of all tyrannies, nor have I seen it exceeded on the French theatre., though, within the last year, the imagination of their poets has been peculiarly ingenious and inventive on this subject.—It is absurd to suppose this vain and overbearing disposition will cease when the French government is settled. The intrigues of the popular party began in England from the moment they attained power, and long before there was any reason to suspect the English would deviate from their plan of neutrality. If, then, the French cannot restrain this mischievous spirit while their own affairs are sufficient to occupy their utmost attention, it is natural to conclude, that, should they once become established, leisure and peace will make them dangerous to the tranquillity of all Europe. Other governments may be improved by time, but republics always degenerate; and if that which is in its original state of perfection exhibit already the maturity of vice, one cannot, without being more credulous than reasonable, hope any thing better from the future than what we have experienced from the past.—It is, indeed, unnecessary to detain you longer on this

subject. You muft, ere now, be perfectly convinced how far the revolutionary fyftems of France are favourable to the peace and happi-nefs of other countries. I will only add a few details, which may affit you in judging of what

Quoth he, one half of man, his mind,
Is, fid juris, unconfind,
And neer can be laid by the heels,
"VVhateer the other mojety feels.

HUDIERA5.

advantage advantage they have been to the French them-felves, and whether, in changing the form of their government, they have amended its principles; or if, in "conquering" liberty, (as they exprefs-it,) they have really become free.

The fituation of France has altered much within the laft two months: the feat of power is lefs fluctuating, and the exercife more abfo-lute—arbitrary meafures are no longer incidental, but fyftematic—and a regular connection of dependent tyranny is eftablifhed, beginning with the Jacobin clubs, and ending with the committees of the fections. A fimple decree, for inftance, has put all the men in the republic, (unmarried and without children,) from eighteen to forty-five, at the requifition of the Minifter of War. A levy of three hundred thoufand is to take place immediately: each department is refponfible for the whole of a certain number to the Convention, the diftricts are anfwerable for their quota to the departments, the municipalities to the diftrict, and the diligence of the whole is animated by itinerant members of the legiflature, with the dif-pofal of an armed force. The latter circum-ftance may feem to you incredible; yet is it neverthelefs true, that moft of the departments are

are under the jurifdictiion of thefe fovereigns, whofe authority is nearly unlimited. We have, at this moment, two deputies in the town, who arreft and imprifon at their pleafure. One-and-twenty inhabitants of Amiens were feized a few nights ago, without any fpecific charge having been exhibited againft them, and are ftill in confinement. The gates of the town are jhut, and no one is permitted to pafs or re-pafs without an order from the municipality; and the obfervance of this is exacted even of thofe who refide in the fuburbs. Farmers and country-people, who are on horfeback, are obliged to have the features and complexion of their horfes minuted on the paffport with their own. Every perfon whom it is found convenient to call fufpicious, is deprived of his arms; and private houfes are difturbed during the night, (in oppofition to a pofitive law,) under pretext of fearching for refractory priefts.—Thefe regulations are not peculiar to this department, and you muft underftand them as conveying a general idea of what paffes in every part of France. I have yet to add, that letters are opened with impunity—that immenfe fums of affignats are created at the will of the Convention—that no one is excufed mounting guard in perfon—and that all houfekeepers, Vol. i. Q. and 226 and even lodgers, are burthened with the quartering of troops, fometimes as many as eight or ten, for weeks together.

You may now, I think, form a tolerable idea of the liberty that has accrued to the French from the revolution, the dethronement of the King, and the eftablifhment of a republic. But, though the French fuffer this def-potifm without daring to murmur openly, many a fignificant thrug and doleful whifper paffes in fecret, and this political difcontent has even its appropriate language, Which, though not very explicit, is

perfectly understood.—Thus, when you hear one man say to another, " Ah, won Dieu, on est Ken malheureux à ce moment ici;" or, " Nous sommes dans une position très critique—Je voudrais bien voir la fin de tout cela ;" you may be sure he languishes for the restoration of the monarchy, and hopes, with equal fervor, that he may live to see the Convention hanged. In the fort of conferences, however, evaporates all their courage. They own their country is undone, that they are governed by a set of brigands, go home and hide any set of valuables they have not already secreted, and receive with obsequious complaisance the *viète domiciliaire*.

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"The mass of the people, with as little energy, have more obstinacy, and are, of course, not quite so tractable. But, though they grumble and procrastinate, they do not resist; and their delays and demurs usually terminate in implicit submission."

The Deputy-commissioners, whom I have mentioned above, have been at Amiens some time, in order to promote the levying of recruits. On Sundays and holidays they summoned the inhabitants to attend at the cathedral, where they harangued them on the subject, called for vengeance on the coalited despots, expatiated on the love of glory, and inflated on the pleasure of dying for one's country: while the people listened with vacant attention, amused themselves with the paintings, or adjourned in small committees to discuss the hardship of being obliged to fight without inclination.—Thus time elapsed, the military orations produced no effect, and no troops were raised: no one would enlist voluntarily, and all refused to settle it by lot, because, as they wisely observed, the lot must fall on somebody. Yet, notwithstanding the objection, the matter was at length decided by this last method. The decision had no sooner taken place, than another difficulty en-

gaged a few of those who escaped acknowledged it was the best way that could be devised; but those who were destined to the frontiers refused to go. Various altercations, and excuses, and references, were the consequence; yet, after all this murmuring and evasion, the presence of the Commissioners and a few dragoons have arranged the business very pacifically;—many are already gone, and the rest will (if the dragoons continue here) soon follow.

This, I assure you, is a just statement of the account between the Convention and the People: every thing is effected by fear—nothing by attachment; and the one is obeyed only because the other wants courage to resist.

Yours, &c.

Rouen. March 31.

Joué, like most of the great towns in France, is what is called decidedly aristocratic; that is, the rich are discontented because they are without security, and the poor because they want bread. But these complaints are not peculiar to large places; the causes of them equally exist in the smallest village, and the only difference which fixes the imputation of aristocracy on one more than the other, is, daring to murmur, or submitting in silence.

I must here remark to you, that the term aristocrat has much varied from its former signification. A year ago, aristocrat implied one who was an advocate for the privileges of the nobility, and a partizan of the ancient government—at present, a man is an aristocrat for entertaining exactly the same principles which at that time constituted

a patriot; and, I believe, the computation is moderate, when I say, that more than three parts of the nation are aristocrats. The rich, who apprehend a violation of their property, are aristocrats—the merchants, who regret the stagnation of commerce, and distrust the credit of the assignats, are aristocrats—the small retailers, who are pillaged for not selling cheaper than they buy, and who find these outrages rather encouraged than repressed, are aristocrats—and even the poor, who murmur at the price of bread, and the numerous levies for the army, are, occasionally, aristocrats.

a Besides

Besides all these, there are likewise various classes of moral aristocrats—such as the humane, who are averse from massacres and oppression—those who regret the loss of civil liberty—the devout, who tremble at the contempt for religion—the vain, who are mortified at the national degradation—and authors, who fight for the freedom of the press.—When you consider this multiplicity of symptomatic indications, you will not be surprized that such numbers are pronounced in a state of disease; but our republican physicians will soon generalize these various species of aristocracy under the single description of all who have any thing to lose, and every one will be deemed plethoric who is not in a consumption. The people themselves, who observe, though they do not reason, begin to have an idea that property exposes the safety of the owner, and that the legislature is less inexorable when guilt is unproductive, than when the conviction of a criminal comprehends the forfeiture of an estate.—A poor tradesman was lamenting to me yesterday that he had neglected an offer of going to live in England; and when I told him I thought he was very fortunate in having done so, as he would have been declared an emigrant, he replied, laughing,—*Mot emigré qui n'est pas unjol*:—"No, no; they don't make emigrants of those who are worth nothing. And this was not said with any intended irreverence to the Convention, but with the simplicity which really conceived the wealth of the emigrants to be the cause of the severity exercised against them.

The commercial and political evils of a vast circulation of assignats have been often discussed, but I have never yet known the matter considered in what is, perhaps, its most serious point of view—I mean its influence on the habits and morals of the people. Wherever I go, especially in large towns like this, the mischief is evident, and, I fear, irremediable. That oeconomy, which was one of the most valuable characteristics of the French, is now comparatively disregarded. The people, who receive what they earn in a currency they hold in contempt, are more anxious to spend than to save; and those who formerly hoarded six liards or twelve sols pieces with great care, would think it folly to hoard an assignat, whatever its nominal value. Hence the lower classes of females dissipate their wages on useless finery; men frequent public-houses, and game for larger sums than before; little shop-keepers, instead of amassing their profits, become more luxurious in their table; public places are always full; and those who used, in dress becoming their station, to occupy the "parquet" or "parterre," now, decorated with paste, pins, gauze, and galloon, fill the boxes;—and all this destructive prodigality is excused to others and themselves "*par ce que ce n'est que du papier*"—It is vain to persuade them to economize what they think a few weeks may render valueless; and such is the evil of a circulation so totally discredited, that profusion affirms the merit of precaution, extravagance the plea of necessity, and those who were not lavish

by habit become so through their eagerness to part with their paper. The buried gold and silver will again be brought forth, and the merchant and the politician forget the mischief of the assignats. But what can compensate for the injury done to the people? What is to restore their ancient frugality, or banish their acquired wants? It is not to be expected that the return of specie will diminish the inclination for luxury, or that the human mind can be regulated by the national finance; on the contrary, it is rather to be feared, that habits of expence which owe their introduction to the paper will remain when the paper is annihilated; that, though money may become more scarce, the propensities of which it supplies the indulgence will not be less forcible, and that those who have no other resources for their accustomed gratifications will but too often find one in the sacrifice of their integrity.—Thus, the corruption of manners will be succeeded by the corruption of morals, and the dishonesty of one sex, with the licentiousness of the other, produce consequences much worse than any imagined by the abstracted calculations of the politician, or the selfish ones of the merchant. Age will be often without solace, sickness without alleviation, and infancy without support; because some would not amass for themselves, nor others for their children, the profits of their labour in a representative sign of uncertain value.

I do not pretend to assert that these are the natural effects of a paper circulation—doubtless, when supported by high credit, and an extensive commerce, it must have many advantages; but this was not the case in France—the measure was adopted in a moment of revolution, and when the credit of the country, never very considerable, was precarious and degraded—it did not flow from the exuberance of commerce, but the artifices of party—it never presumed, for for a moment, on the confidence of the people—its reception was forced, and its emission too profuse not to be alarming.—I know it may be answered, that the assignats do not depend upon an imaginary appreciation, but really represent a large mass of national wealth, particularly in the domains of the clergy: yet, perhaps, it is this very circumstance which has tended most to discredit them. Had their credit rested only on the solvency of the nation, though they had not been greatly coveted, still they would have been less distrusted; people would not have apprehended their abolition on a change of government, nor that the systems adopted by one party might be reversed by another. Indeed we may add, that an experiment of this kind does not begin auspiciously when grounded on confiscation and leises, which it is probable more than half the French considered as sacrilege and robbery; nor could they be very anxious to possess a species of wealth which they made it a motive of conscience to hope would never be of any value.—But if the original creation of assignats were objectionable, the subsequent creations cannot but augment the evil. I have already described to you the effects visible at present, and those to be apprehended in the future—others may result from the new inundation, which it is not possible to conjecture; but if the mischiefs should be real, in proportion as a part of the wealth which this paper is said to represent is imaginary, their extent cannot easily be exaggerated. Perhaps you will be of this opinion, when you recollect that one of the funds which form the security of this vast sum is the gratitude of the Flemings for their liberty; and if this reimbursement be to be made according to the specimen the French army have experienced in their retreat, I doubt much if the Convention will be disposed to advance any farther claims on it; for, it seems, the inhabitants of the

Low Countries have been so little sensible of the benefits bestowed on them, that even the peasants seize on any weapons nearest hand, and drub and pursue the retrograding armies as they would wild beasts; and though, as Dumourier observes in one of his dispatches, our revolution is intended to favour the country people "cejl cependant les gens de campagne qui s'en tiennent contre nous, et les tocmfonnade toutesparts-" so that the French will, in fact, have created a public debt of so singular a nature, that every—izoo millions—50 millions sterling.

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one will avoid as much as possible making any demand of the capital.

I have already been more diffuse than I intended on the subject of finance; but I beg you to observe, that I do not affect to calculate, or speculate, and that I reason only from facts which are daily within my notice, and which, as tending to operate on the morals of the people, are naturally included in the plan I proposed to myself. I have been here but a few days, and intend returning to-morrow. I left Mrs. D very little better, and the disaffection of Dumourier, which I just now learn, may oblige us to remove to some place not on the route to Paris.

Every one looks alert and important, and a physiognomist may perceive that regret is not the prevailing sentiment—

"We now begin to speak in tropes,

"And, by our fears, express our hopes."

The Jacobins are said to be apprehensive, which augurs well; for, certainly, next to the happiness of good people, one desires the punishment of the bad.

Amiens, April 7.

JLF the sentiments of the people towards their present government had been problematical before, the visible effect of Dumouriers conduct would afford an ample solution of the problem. That indifference about public affairs which the prospect of an established despotism had begun to create has vanished—all is hope and expectation—the doors of those who retail the newspapers are assailed by people too impatient to read them—each with his gazette in his hand listens eagerly to the verbal circulation, and then holds a secret conference with his neighbour, and calculates how long it may be before Dumourier can reach Paris. A fortnight ago the name of Dumourier was not uttered but in a tone of harshness and contempt, and if ever it excited any thing like complacency, it was when he announced defeats and losses. Now he is spoken of with a significant modulation of voice, it is discovered that he has great talents, and his popularity with the army is deflected upon with a mysterious air of suppressed satisfaction.—Those who were extremely apprehensive left part of the Generals troops should be driven this way by the successes of the enemy, seem to talk with perfect composure of their taking the same route to attack the capital; while others, who would have been unwilling to receive either Dumourier or his army as peaceful fugitives, will be "nothing loath" to admit them as conquerors. From all I can learn, these dispositions are very general, and, indeed, the actual tyranny is so great, and the perspective so alarming, that any means of deliverance must be acceptable. But, whatever may be the event, though I cannot be personally interested, if I thought Dumourier really proposed to establish a good government, humanity would render

one anxious for his success; for it is not to be disguised, that France is at this moment (as the General himself expressed it) under the joint dominion of "imbecilles" and "Irigands"

It is possible, that at this moment the whole army is disaffected, and that the fortified towns are prepared to surrender. It is also certain, that Brittany is in revolt, and that many other departments are little short of it; yet you will not very easily conceive what may have occupied the Convention during part of this important crisis—nothing less than inventing a dress for their Commissioners! But, as Sterne says, "it is the spirit of the nation;" and I recollect no circumstance during the whole progress of the revolution (however serious) that has not been mixed with frivolities of this kind.

Meets and robbers.

I know not what effect this new costume may produce on the rebels or the enemy, but I confess it appears to me more ludicrous than formidable, especially when a representative happens to be of the shape and features of the one we have here. Saladin, deputy for this department, and an advocate of the town of Amiens, has already invested himself with this armour of inviolability; "strange figure in strange habiliments," that one is tempted to forget that Barataria and the government of Sancho are the creation of fancy. Imagine to yourself a short fat man, of fallow complexion and small eyes, with a flash of white, red, and blue round his waist, a black belt with a sword suspended across his moulders, and a round hat turned up before, with three feathers of the national colours; "even such a man" is our representative, who harangues publicly in this accoutrement, and exercises a more despotic authority than most Princes in Europe.—He is accompanied by another deputy, who was what

is called a *Pere de famille* before the revolution—that is, in a station nearly approaching to that of an under-master at our public schools; only that the seminaries to which these were attached being very numerous, those employed in them were little considered. They wore the habit, and were subject to the same restrictions, as the Clergy, but were at liberty to quit the profession and marry, if they chose. I have been more particular in describing this class of men, because they have every where taken an active and successful part in perverting and misleading the people: they are in the clubs, or the municipalities, in the Convention, and in all elective administrations, and have been in most places remarkable for their sedition and violence.

Several reasons may be assigned for the influence and conduct of men whose situation and habits, on a first view, seem to oppose both. In the first ardour of reform—it was determined, that all the ancient modes of education should be abolished; small temporary pensions were allotted to the Professors of Colleges, and their admission to the exercise of similar functions in the intended new system was left to future decision. From this time the disbanded oratorians, who knew it would be vain to resist popular authority, endeavoured to share in it; or, at least, by becoming zealous partisans of the revolution, to establish their claims to any offices or emoluments which might be substituted for those they had been deprived of. They enrolled themselves with the Jacobins, courted the populace, and, by the talent of pronouncing Roman names with emphasis, and the study of rhetorical attitudes, they became of consequence among associates who were ignorant, or necessary to those that were designing.

The little information generally possessed by the middling classes of life in France is also another cause of the comparative importance of those whose professions had, in this respect, raised them something above the common level. People of condition, liberally educated, have unfortunately abandoned public affairs for some time; so that the incapacity of some, and the pride or dependency of others, have, in a manner, left the nation to the guidance of pedants, incendiaries, and adventurers. Perhaps also the animosity with which the description of men I allude to pursued every thing attached to the ancient government, may, in some degree, have proceeded from a desire of revenge and

Vol. i. R. retaliation.

retaliation. They were not, it must be confessed, treated formerly with the regard due to persons whose profession was in itself useful and respectable; and the wounds of vanity are not easily cured, nor the vindictiveness of little minds easily satisfied.

From the conduct and popular influence of these Peres de l'Oratoire, some truths may be deduced not altogether useless even to a country not liable to such violent reforms. It affords an example of the danger arising from those sudden and arbitrary innovations, which, by depriving any part of the community of their usual means of living, and substituting no other, tempt them to indemnify themselves by preying, in different ways, on their fellow-citizens. The daring and ignorant often become depredators of private property; while those who have more talents, and less courage, endeavour to succeed by the artifices which conciliate public favour. I am not certain whether the latter are not to be most dreaded of the two, for those who make a trade of the confidence of the people seldom fail to corrupt them— they find it more profitable to flatter their passions than to enlighten their understandings; and a demagogue of this kind, who obtains

such Office by exciting one popular insurrection, will make no scruple of maintaining himself in it by another. An inference may likewise be drawn of the great necessity of cultivating such a degree of useful knowledge in the middle order of society, as may not only prevent their being deceived by interested adventurers themselves, but enable them to instruct the people in their true interests, and rescue them from becoming the instruments, and finally the victims of fraud and imposture.—The insult and oppression which the nobility frequently experience from those who have been promoted by the devolution, will, I trust, be a useful lesson in future to the great, who may be inclined to arrogate too much from adventitious distinctions, to forget that the earth we tread upon may one day overwhelm us, and that the meanest of mankind may do us an injury which it is not in the power even of the most exalted to shield us from.

The inquisition begins to grow so strict; that I have thought it necessary to day to bury a translation of Burke.—In times of ignorance and barbarity, it was criminal to read the Bible, and our English author is prohibited for a similar reason—that is, to conceal from the people the errors of those who direct them: and, in deed, Mr. Burke has written some truths, which it is of much more importance for the Convention to conceal, than it could be to the Catholic priests to monopolize the divine writings.—As far as it was possible, Mr. Burke has shown himself a prophet: if he has not been completely so, it was because he had a benevolent heart, and is the

native of a free country. By the one, he was prevented from imagining the cruelties the French have been capable of; by the other, the extreme despotism they endure.

April 20.

INDEFINITE these halcyon days of freedom, the supremacy of Paris was little felt in the provinces, except in dictating a new fashion in dresses, an improvement in the art of cookery, or the invention of a minuet. At present our imitations of the capital are something more serious; and if our obedience be not quite so voluntary, it is much more implicit. Instead of receiving fashions from the Court, we take them now from the Dames des Salles, and the municipality; and it must be allowed, that the imaginations of our new sovereigns much exceed those of the old in force and originality.

The mode of pillaging the shops, for instance, was first devised by the Parisian ladies, and has lately been adopted with great success in the departments: the visitation domestique, also, which I look upon as a most ingenious effort of fancy, is an emanation from the commune of Paris, and has had an universal run.—But it would be vain to attempt enumerating all the obligations of this kind which we owe to the indulgence of that virtuous city: our last importation, however, is of so singular a nature, that, were we not daily assured all the liberty in the world centers in Paris, I should be doubtful as to its tendency. It has lately been decreed, that every house in the republic shall have fixed on the outside of the door, in legible characters, the name, age, birth-place, and profession of its inhabitants. Not the poorest cottager, nor those who are too old or too young for action, nor even unmarried ladies, are exempt from thus proclaiming the abstract; of their history to passers-by.—The reigning party judge very wisely, that all those who are not already their enemies may become so, and that those who are unable to take a part them-

It is a very good thing that may excite others: but, whatever may be the intention of this measure, it is impossible to conceive any thing which could better serve the purpose of an arbitrary government; it places every individual in the republic within the immediate reach of informers and spies—it points out those who are of an age to serve in the army—those who have sought refuge in one department from the perfections of another—and, in short, whether a victim is pursued by the denunciation of private malice, or political suspicion, it renders escape almost impracticable.

We have had two domiciliary visits within the last fortnight—one to search for arms, the other under pretext of ascertaining the number of troops each house is capable of lodging. But this was only the pretext, because the municipalities always quarter troops as they think proper, without considering whether you have room or not; and the real object of this inspection was to observe if the inhabitants answered to the lists placed on the doors.—Mrs. D—was ill in bed, but you must not imagine such a circumstance deterred these gallant republicans from entering her room with an armed force, to calculate how many soldiers might be lodged.

lodged in the bedchamber of a sick female! The French, indeed, had never, in my remembrance, any pretensions to delicacy, or even decency, and they are certainly not improved in these respects by the revolution.

It is curious in walking the streets, to observe the devices of the several classes of aristocracy; for it is not to be disguised, that since the hope from Dumourier has vanished, though the disgust of the people may be increased, their terror is also greater

than ever, and the departments near Paris have no resource but silent submission. Every one, therefore, obeys the letter of the decrees with the diligence of fear, while they elude the spirit of them with all the ingenuity of hatred.—The rich, for example, who cannot entirely divest themselves of their remaining hauteur, exhibit a full compliance on a small piece of paper, written in a small hand, and placed at the very extreme of the height allowed by the law. Some fix their bills so as to be half covered by a flutter others fasten them only with wafers, so that the wind, detaching one or two corners, makes it impossible to read the rest. Many who have courts

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This contrivance became so common, that an article was obliged to be added to the decree, importing, that whenever the owners passages to their houses, put their names on the half of a gate which they leave open, so that the writing is not perceptible but to those who enter. But those who are most afraid, or most decidedly aristocrats, subjoin to their requests, " All good republicans.—" or, " Five la republique, une et indivisible." Some likewise, who are in public offices, or shopkeepers who are very timid, and afraid of pillage, or are ripe for a counter-revolution, have a sheet half the size of the door, decorated with red caps, tri-coloured ribbons, and flaming sentences. ending in " Death or Liberty /"

If, however, the French government confined itself to these petty acts of despotism, I would endeavour to be reconciled to it; but I really begin to have serious apprehensions, not so much for our safety as our tranquillity, and if I considered only myself, I should not hesitate to return to England. Mrs. D—is too ill to travel far at present, and her dread of crossing the sea makes her less disposed to think our situation here hazardous or ineligible. Mr. D, too, who, without being a republican the papers were damaged or effaced by the weather, or damaged by the wind, the inhabitants should replace them, under a penalty.

or a partizan of the present system, has always been a friend to the first revolution, is unwilling to believe the Convention so bad as there is every reason to suppose it. I therefore let my judgement yield to my friendship, and, as I cannot prevail on them to depart, the danger which may attend our remaining is an additional reason for my not quitting them.

The national perfidy which has always distinguished France among the other countries of Europe, seems now not to be more a diplomatic principle, than a rule of domestic government. It is so extended and generalized, that an individual is as much liable to be deceived and betrayed by confiding in a decree, as a foreign power would be by relying on the faith of a treaty.—An hundred and twenty priests, above sixty years of age, who had not taken the oaths, but who were allowed to remain by the same law that banished those who were younger, have been lately arrested, and are confined together in a house which was once a college. The people did not behold this act of cruelty with indifference, but, awed by an armed force, and the presence of the Commissioners of the Convention, they could only follow the priests to their prison with silent regret and internal horror. They, however, venture even now to mark their attachment, by taking all opportunities of seeing them, and supplying them with necessaries, which it is not very difficult to do, as they are guarded by the Bourgeois, who are generally inclined to favour them. I asked a woman to-day if she still contrived

to have access to the priests, and she replied, " Ah, oui, il y a encore de la facilité, parce que Von tie trouve pas des gardes id qui ne font pas pour eux." Thus, even the most minute and best organized tyranny may be eluded; and, indeed, if all the agents of this government acted in the spirit of its decrees, it would be insupportable even to a native of Turkey or Japan. But if some have still a remnant of humanity left, there are a sufficient number who execute the laws as unfeeling as they are conceived.

When these poor priests were to be removed. from their several houses, it was found necessary to dislodge the Bishop of Amiens, who had for some time occupied the place fixed on for their reception. The Bishop had notice given him at twelve o'clock in the day to relinquish his lodging before evening; yet the Bishop of Amiens is a constitutional Prelate, and had, before the revolution, the cure of a large parish at Paris; nor was it without much persuasion that he accepted the see of Amiens. In the severe winter of 1789 he disposed of his place and library, (the latter of which was said to be one of the best private collections in Paris,) to purchase bread for the poor. " But Time hath a wallet on his back, wherein he puts alms for oblivion;" and the charities of the Bishop could not shield him from the contempt and insult which pursue his profession.

I have been much distressed within the last few days on account of my friend Madame

B. I subjoin a translation of a letter I have just received from her, as it will convey to you hereafter a tolerable specimen of French liberty.

"Maïson dauret, at.

et I Did not write to you, my dear friend, at the time I promised, and you will perceive, by the date of this, that I have had too good an excuse for my negligence. I have been here almost a week, and my spirits are still so much disordered, that I can with difficulty recollect myself enough to relate the circumstances of our unfortunate Situation; but as it is possible you might become acquainted with them by some other means, I rather determined to give you a few lines than suffer you to be alarmed by false or exaggerated reports.—About two o'clock on Monday morning last our servants were called up, and, on their opening the door, the house was immediately filled with armed men, some of whom began searching the rooms, while others came to our bedchamber, and informed us we were arrested by order of the department, and that we must rise and accompany them to prison.—It is not easy to describe the effect of such a mandate on people who, having nothing to reproach themselves with, could not be prepared for it. As soon as we were a little recovered from our first terrors, we endeavoured to obey, and begged they would indulge us by retiring a few moments till I had put my clothes on; but neither my embarrassment, nor the screams of the child; neither decency nor humanity, could prevail. They would not even permit my maid to enter the room; and, amidst this scene of disorder, I was obliged to dress myself and the terrified infant. When this unpleasant talk was finished, a general examination of our house and papers took place, and lasted until six in the evening: nothing, however, tending in the remotest degree to criminate us was found, but we were nevertheless conducted to prison, and God knows how long we are likely to remain here. The denunciation against us being secret, and not being able to learn either our crime or our accusers, it is difficult for us to take any measures for our enlargement. We

cannot defend ourselves against a charge of which we are ignorant, nor combat the validity of a witness, who is not only allowed to remain secret, but is paid perhaps for his information.

"We most probably owe our misfortune to some discarded servant or personal enemy, for I believe you are convinced we have not merited it either by our discourse or our actions: if we had, the charge would have been specific; but we have reason to imagine it is nothing more than the indeterminate and general charge of being aristocrats.—I did not see my mother or sister all the day we were arrested, nor till the evening of the next: the one was engaged perhaps with Rojine and the Angola, who were indisposed, and the other would not forego her usual card party. Many of our friends likewise have forbore to approach us, left their apparent interest in our fate should involve themselves, and really the

At this time informers were paid from fifty to an hundred livres for each accusation.

alarm alarm is so general, that I can, without much effort, forgive them.—You will be pleased to learn, that the greatest civilities I have received in this unpleasant situation, have been from some of your countrymen, who are our fellow-prisoners: they are only poor failors, but they are truly kind and attentive, and do us various little services that render us more comfortable than we otherwise should be, for we have no servants here, having preferred to leave them to take care of our property. The second night we were here, these good creatures, who lodge in the next room, were rather merry, and awoke the child; but as they found, by its cries, that their gaiety had occasioned me some trouble, I have observed ever since, that they walk softly, and avoid making the least noise, after the little prisoner is gone to rest. I believe they are pleased with me because I speak their language, and they are still more delighted with your young favourite, who is so well amused, that he begins to forget the gloom of the place, which at first terrified him extremely.

"One of our companions is a honyjuring priest, who has been imprisoned under circumstances which make me almost ashamed of my country.—After having escaped from a neighbouring department, department, he procured himself a lodging in this town, and for some time lived very peaceably, till a woman, who suspected his profession, became extremely importunate with him to confess her. The poor man, for several days, refused, telling her, that he did not consider himself as a priest, nor wished to be known as such, nor to infringe the law which excluded him. The woman, however, still continued to persecute him, alledging, that her conscience was distressed, and that her peace depended on her being able to confess in the right way. At length he suffered himself to be prevailed upon, the woman received an hundred livres for informing against him, and, perhaps, the priest will be condemned to the Guillotine.

"I will make no reflection on this act, nor on the system of paying informers—your heart will have already anticipated all I could say. I will only add, that if you determine to remain in France, you must observe a degree of circumspection which you may not hitherto have thought necessary. Do not depend on your innocence, nor even trust to common precautions—every day furnishes examples that both are unavailing.—

He was executed some time after.

Adieu—

Adieu—my husband offers you his respects, and your little friend embraces you sincerely. As soon as any change in our favour takes place, I will communicate it to you; but you had better not venture to write.—I entrust this to Louifons mother, who is going through Amiens, as it would be unsafe to send it by the post.—Again adieu. Yours,

"ADELAIDE DE."

Amiens.

It is observable, that we examine less scrupulously the pretensions of a nation to any particular excellence, than we do those of an individual. The reason of this is, probably, that our self-love is as much gratified by admitting the one, as in rejecting the other. When we allow the claims of a whole people, we are flattered with the idea of being above narrow prejudices, and of possessing an enlarged and liberal mind; but if a single individual arrogate to himself any exclusive superiority, our own pride immediately becomes opposed to his, and we seem but to vindicate our judgement in degrading such presumption. I can conceive no other causes for our having so long acquiesced in the claims

of the French to pre-eminent good breeding, in an age when, I believe, no person acquainted with both nations can discover any tiling to justify them. If indeed politeness confirmed in the repetition of a certain routine of phrases, unconnected with the mind or action, I might be obliged to decide against our country; but while decency makes a part of good manners, or feeling is preferable to a mechanical jargon, I am inclined to think the English have a merit more than they have hitherto ascribed to themselves. Do not suppose, however, that I am going to decant on the old imputations of "French flattery," and "French insincerity;" for I am far from concluding that civil behaviour gives one a right to expect kind offices, or that a man is false because he pays a compliment, and refuses a service: I only wish to infer that an impertinence is not less an impertinence because it is accompanied by a certain set of words, and that a people, who are indelicate to excess, cannot properly be denominated "a polite people"

i.

A French man or woman, with no other apology than "permettez-moi," will take a book out of your hand, look over any thing you are reading, and ask you a thousand questions relative to your most private concerns—they will enter your room, even your bedchamber, without knocking, place themselves between you and the fire, or take hold of your clothes to guess what they cost; and they deem these acts of rudeness sufficiently qualified by "Je demande bien des pardons."—They are fully convinced that the English all eat with their knives, and I have often heard this discussed with much self-complacency by those who usually shared the labours of the repast between a fork and their fingers. Our custom also of using water-glasses after dinner is an object of particular censure; yet whoever dines at a French table must frequently observe, that many of the guests might benefit by such ablutions, and their napkins always testify that some previous application would be by no means superfluous. Nothing is more common than to hear physical derangements, disorders, and their remedies, expatiated upon by the parties concerned amidst a room full of people, and that with so much minuteness of description, that a foreigner, without being very fastidious, is on some occasions apt to feel very unpleasant sympathies. There

are scarcely any of the ceremonies of a lady's toilette more a mystery to one sex than the other, and men and their wives, who scarcely eat at the same table, are in this respect grossly familiar. The conversation in most societies partakes of this indecency, and the manners of an English female are in danger of becoming contaminated, while she is only endeavouring to suffer without pain the customs of those she has been taught to consider as models of politeness.

Whether you examine the French in their houses or in public, you are every where stricken with the same want of delicacy, propriety, and cleanliness. The streets are mostly so filthy, that it is perilous to approach the walls. The interiors of the churches are often disgusting, in spite of the advertisements that are placed in them to request the forbearance of phlegmatic persons: the service does not prevent those who attend from going to and fro with the same irreverence as if the church were empty, and, in the most solemn part of the mass, a woman is suffered to importune you for a *Hard*, as the price of the chair you sit on. At the theatres an actor or actresses frequently coughs and expectorates on the stage, in a manner one should think highly unpardonable before one's most intimate friends in England, though this habit is very common to all the French. The

"s 2 inns abound with filth of every kind, and though the owners of them are generally civil enough, their notions of what is decent are so very different from ours, that an English traveller is not soon reconciled to them. In short, it would be impossible to enumerate all that in my opinion excludes the French from the character of a well-bred people.—Swift, who seems to have been gratified by the contemplation of physical impurity, might have done the subject justice; but I confess I am not displeased to feel that, after my long and frequent residences in France, I am still unqualified. So little are these people susceptible of delicacy, propriety, and decency, that they do not even use the words in the sense we do, nor have they any others expressive of the same meaning.—But if they are deficient in the external forms of politeness, they are infinitely more so in that politeness which may be called mental. The simple and unerring rule of never preferring oneself, is to them more difficult of comprehension than the most difficult problem in Euclid: in small things as well as great, their own interest, their own gratification, is their leading principle; and the cold flexibility which enables them to clothe this selfish system in "fair forms," is what they call politeness.

My ideas on this subject are not recent, but they occurred to me with additional force on the perusal of Mad. de B's letter. The behaviour of some of the poorest and least-informed classes of our countrymen forms a striking contrast with that of the people who arrested her, and even her own friends: the unaffected attention of the one, and the brutality and neglect of the other, are, perhaps, more just examples of English and French manners than you may have hitherto imagined. I do not, however, pretend to say that the latter are all gross and brutal, but I am myself convinced that, generally speaking, they are an unfeeling people., I beg you to remember, that when I speak of the dispositions and character of the French, my opinions are the result of general observation, and are applicable to all ranks; but when my remarks are on habits and manners, they describe only those classes which are properly called the nation. The higher noblesse, and those attached to courts, so nearly resemble each

other in all countries, that they are necessarily excepted in these delineations, which are intended to mark the distinguishing features of a people at large: for, assuredly, when the 3 French French assert, and their neighbours repeat, that they are a polite nation, it is not meant that those who have important offices or dignified appellations are polite. They found their claims on their superiority as a people, and it is in this light I consider them. My examples are chiefly drawn, not from the very inferior, nor from the most eminent ranks; neither from the retailer of a mop, nor the claimant of a tabouret, " or " les grandes oupetites entries-" but from the gentry, those of easy fortunes, merchants, andc.—in fact, from people of that degree which it would be fair to cite as what may be called a genteel society in England.

This cession of intercourse with our country dispirits me, and as it will probably continue some time, I shall amuse myself by noting more particularly the little occurrences which may not reach your public prints, but which tend more than great events to mark both the spirit of the government and that of the people.—Perhaps you may be ignorant that the prohibition of the English mails was not by a decree of the Convention, but by a simple order of its Commissioners; and I have some reason to think that even they acted at the instigation of an individual who harbours a mean and pitiful

The tabouret was a stool allowed to the Ladies of the Court particularly distinguished by rank or favour, when in presence of the Royal Family.—" Les entrees" gave a familiar access to the King and Queen.

dislike to England and its inhabitants.

Yours, andc.

May 18.

11 EAR six weeks ago a decree was passed by the Convention, obliging all strangers, who had not purchased national property, or who did not exercise some profession, to give security to the amount of half their supposed fortune, and under these conditions they were to receive a certificate, allowing them to reside, and were promised the protection of the laws. The administrators of the departments, who perceive that they become odious by executing the decrees of the Convention, begin to relax much of their diligence, and it is not till long after a law is promulgated, and their personal fear operates as a stimulant, that they seriously enforce obedience to these mandates. This morning, however, we were summoned by the committee of our section (or ward) in order to comply with the terms of the decree, and had I been directed only by my own judgement, I would have given the preference to an immediate return to England; but Mrs. D is yet ill, and Mr. D is disposed to continue.

In vain have I quoted " how fickle France was branded midst the nations of the earth for perfidy and breach of public faith;" in vain have I reasoned upon the injustice of a government that first allured strangers to remain by insidious offers of protection, and now subjects them to conditions which many may find it difficult to subscribe to: Mr. D wishes to see our situation in the most favourable point of view: he argues upon the moral impossibility of our being liable to any inconvenience, and persists in believing that one government may act with treachery towards another, yet, distinguishing between falsehood and meanness, maintain its faith with individuals—in short, we have concluded a sort of treaty, by which we are bound, under the forfeiture

of a large sum, to behave peaceably and submit to the laws. The government, in return, empowers us to reside, and promises protection and hospitality.

It is to be observed, that the spirit of this regulation depends upon those it affects producing few witnesses of their "civility;" yet little interest do the people take on these occasions, that our witnesses were neighbours we had scarcely ever seen, and even one was a man who happened to be casually passing by. These committees, which form the last link of a chain of despotism, are composed of low tradesmen and day-labourers, with an attorney, or some person that can read and write, at their head, as president. Priests and nobles, with all that are related, or any wife attached, to them, are excluded by the law; and it is understood that true sans-culottes only should be admitted.—With all these precautions, the indifference and hatred of the people to their government is so general, that, perhaps, there are few places where this regulation is executed so as to answer the purposes of the jealous tyranny that conceived it. The members of these committees seem to exact: no farther compliances than such as are absolutely necessary to the mere form of the proceeding, and to secure themselves from the imputation of disobedience;

Though the meaning of this word is obvious, we have none that is exactly synonymous to it. The Convention intend by it an attachment to their government: but the people do not trouble themselves about the meaning of words—they measure their unwilling obedience by the letter.

and are very little concerned whether the real design of the legislature be accomplished or not. This negligence, or ill-will, which prevails in various instances, tempers, in some degree, the effects of that restless suspicion which is the usual concomitant of an uncertain, but arbitrary power. The affections or prejudices that surround a throne, by ensuring the safety of the Monarch, engage him to clemency, and the laws of a mild government are, for the most part, enforced with exactness; but a slow and precarious authority, which neither imposes on the understanding nor interests the heart, which is supported only by a palpable and unadorned tyranny, is in its nature feverish, and it becomes the common cause of the people to counteract the measures of a despotism which they are unable to resist.—This (as I have before had occasion to observe) renders the condition of the French less insupportable, but it is by no means sufficient to banish the fears of a stranger who has been accustomed to look for security, not from a relaxation or disregard of the laws, but from their efficacy; not from the characters of those who execute them, but from the rectitude with which they are formed.—What would you think in England, if you were obliged to contemplate with dread the three branches of your legislature, and depend for the protection of your person and property on soldiers and constables? Yet such is nearly the state we are in; and indeed a system of injustice and barbarism gains ground so fast, that almost any apprehension is justified.—The Tribunal Revolutionaire has already condemned a fervent maid for her political opinions, and one of the Judges of this tribunal lately introduced a man to the Jacobins, with high panegyrics, because, as he alleged, he had greatly contributed to the condemnation of a criminal. The same Judge likewise apologized for having as yet sent but a small number to the Guillotine, and promises, that, on the first appearance of a "Bribe" before him, he will show him no mercy.

When the minister of public justice thus avows himself the agent of a party, a government, however recent its formation, must be far advanced in depravity; and the corruption of those who are the interpreters of the law has usually been the last effort of expiring power.

My friends, Monf. and Mad. de B, are released from their confinement; not, as you might expect, by proving their innocence, but by the efforts of an individual, who had more weight than their accuser: and, far from obtaining satisfaction for the injury they have received, they are obliged to accept as a favour the liberty they were deprived of by malice and injustice. They will, most probably, never be acquainted with the nature of the charges brought against them, and their accuser will escape with impunity, and, perhaps, meet with reward.

All the French papers are filled with descriptions of the enthusiasm with which the young men start to arms " at the voice of their country; yet it is very certain, that this enthusiasm is of so subtle and aerial a form as to be perceivable only to those who are interested in discovering it. In some places these enthusiast warriors continue to hide themselves—from others they are escorted to the place of their destination by nearly an equal number of dragoons; and no one, I believe, who can procure money to pay another, is disposed to go himself. This is sufficiently proved by the sums demanded by those who engage as substitutes: last year from three to five hundred livres was given;

Otherwise at present no one will take less than eight hundred or a thousand, besides being furnished with clothes, andc. The only real volunteers are the sons of aristocrats, and the relations of emigrants, who, sacrificing their principles to their fears, hope, by enlisting in the army, to protect their estates and families: those like-wives who have lucrative employments, and are afraid of losing them, affect great zeal, and expect to purchase impunity for civil speculation at home, by the military services of their children abroad.

This, I assure you, is the real state of that enthusiasm which occasions such an expanse of eloquence to our gazette-writers; but these fallacious accounts are not like the ephemeral deceits of your party prints in England, the effect of which is destroyed in a few hours by an opposite assertion. None here are bold enough to contradict what their sovereigns would have believed; and a town or district, driven almost to revolt by the present system of recruiting, consents very willingly to be described as marching to the frontiers with martial ardour, and burning to combat les esclaves des tyrans /" By these artifices, one department is misled with regard to the dispositions of another, and if they do not

470 not excite to emulation, they, at least, repress by fear; and, probably, many are reduced to submission, who would resist, were they not doubtful of the support and union of their neighbours. Every possible precaution is taken to prevent any connection between the different departments—people who are not known cannot obtain passports without the recommendation of two housekeepers—you must give an account of the business you go upon, of the carriage you mean to travel in, whether it has two wheels or four; all of which must be specified in your passport: and you cannot send your baggage from one town to another without the risk of having it searched. All these things are so disgusting and troublesome, that I begin to be quite of a different opinion

from Brutus, and should certainly prefer being a slave among a free people, than thus be tormented with the recollection that I am a native of England in a land of slavery. Whatever liberty the French might have acquired by their first revolution, it is now much like Sir John Cutlers worsted stockings, so torn, and worn, and disguised by patchings and mendings, that the original texture is not discoverable. Yours, andc.

June 3.

WE have been three days without receiving newspapers; but we learn from the reports of the courier, that the Briffotines are overthrown, that many of them have been arrested, and several escaped to raise adherents in the departments. I, however, doubt much if their success will be very general: the people have little preference between Briffot and Marat, Condorcet and Robespierre, and are not greatly felicitous about the names or even principles of those who govern them—they are not yet accustomed to take that lively interest in public events which is the effect of a popular constitution. In England every thing is a subject of debate and contest, but here they wait in silence the result of any political measure or party dispute; and, without entering into the merits of the cause, adopt whatever is successful. While the King was yet alive, the news of Paris was eagerly sought after, and every disorder of the metropolis created much alarm: but one would almost suppose that even curiosity had ceased at his death, for I have observed no subsequent event (except the defection of Dumourier) make any very serious impression. We hear, therefore, with great composure, the present triumph of the more violent republicans, and suffer without impatience this interregnum of news, which is to continue until the Convention shall have determined in what manner the intelligence of their proceedings shall be related to the departments. The great solicitude of the people is now rather about their physical existence than their political one—provisions are become enormously dear, and bread very scarce: our servants often wait two hours at the bakers, and then return without bread for breakfast. I hope, however, the scarcity is rather artificial than real. It is generally supposed to be occasioned by the unwillingness of the farmers to sell their corn for paper. Some measures have been adopted with an intention of remedying this evil, though the origin of it is beyond the reach of decrees. It originates in that distrust of government which reconciles one part of the community to starving the other, under the idea of self-preservation. While every individual persists in establishing it as a maxim, that any thing is better than anarchy, we must expect that all things will be difficult to procure, and, of course, bear a high price. I fear, all the empiricism of the legislature cannot produce a nostrum for this want of faith. Dragoons and penal laws only "linger and linger it out;" the disease is incurable.

My Friends, Mons. and Mad. de B—, by way of consolation for their imprisonment, now find themselves on the list of emigrants, though they have never been a single day absent from their own province, or from places of residence where they are well known. But that they may not murmur at this injustice, the municipality have accompanied their names with those of others who have not even been absent from the town, and one gentleman in particular, who I believe may have been seen on the rampart every day for these seven years.—This may appear to you only very absurd, and you may imagine the consequences easily obviated; yet these mistakes are the effect of private malice, and subject the persons affected by them to an infinity of expence

and trouble. They are obliged, in order to avert the confiscation of their property, to appear, in every part of the republic where they have possessions, with attestations of their constant residence in France, and perhaps suffer a thousand mortifications from the official ignorance and brutality of the persons to whom they apply. No remedy lies against the authors of these vexations, and the sufferer who is prudent fears even to complain.

Vol. i. T. I have I have, in a former letter, noticed the great number of beggars that swarm at Arras: they are not less numerous at Amiens, though of a different description—they are neither so disgusting, nor so wretched, but are much more importunate and insolent—they plead neither sickness nor infirmity, and are, for the most part, able and healthy. How so many people should beg by profession in a large manufacturing town, it is difficult to conceive; but, whatever may be the cause, I am tempted to believe the effect has some influence on the manners of the inhabitants of Amiens. I have seen no town in France so remarkable for a rude and unfeeling behaviour, and it is not fanciful to conjecture that the multitude of poor may tend in part to occasion it. The constant view of a sort of misery that excites little compassion, of an intrusive necessity which one is more desirous to repulse than to relieve, cannot but render the heart callous,—and the manners harsh. The avarice of commerce, which is here unaccompanied by its liberality, is glad to confound real distresses with voluntary and idle indigence, till, in time, an absence of feeling becomes part of the character; and the constant habit of petulant refusals, or of acceding more from fatigue than benevolence, hence, has perhaps a similar effect on the voice, gesture, and external

This place has been so often visited by those who describe better than myself, that I have thought it unnecessary to mention public buildings, or any thing equally obvious to the traveller or the resident. The beauty and elegance of the cathedral has been celebrated for ages, and I only remind you of it to indulge my national vanity in the reflection that one of the most splendid monuments of Gothic architecture in France is the work of our English ancestors. The edifice is in perfect preservation, and the hand of power has not yet ventured to appropriate the plate or ornaments; but this forbearance will most probably give way to temptation and impunity. The Convention will respect ancient prejudices no longer than they suppose the people have courage to defend them, and the latter seem so entirely subdued, that, however they may murmur, I do not think any serious resistance is to be expected from them, even in behalf of the relics of St. Firmin.—The bust of Henry the Fourth,

St. Firmin, the patron of Amiens, where he is in many beads represented with his head in his hand.

T z which which was a present from the Monarch himself, is banished the town-house, where it was formerly placed, though, I hope, some royalist has taken possession of it, and deposited it in safety till better times. This once popular Prince is now associated with Nero and Caligula, and it is "leze nation to speak of him to a thorough republican.—I know not if the French had before the revolution reached the acme of perfection, but they have certainly been retrograding very fast since. Every thing that used to create fondness and veneration is despised, and things are esteemed only in proportion as they are worthless. Perhaps the bust of Robespierre may one day replace

that of Henry the Fourth, and, to speak in the style of an eastern epistle, what can I say more?"

Should you ever travel this way with Gray in your hand, you will look for the Uffuline convent, and regret the paintings he mentions: but you may recollect, for your consolation, that they are merely pretty, and remarkable only for being the work of one of the nuns.—Gray, who seems to have had that enthusiastic respect for religious orders common to young minds, admired them on this account; and numbers of English travellers have, I dare say, preposited preposited by such an authority, experienced the same disappointment I myself felt on visiting the Uffuline church. Many of the chapel belonging to these communities were very showy and much decorated with gilding and sculpture: some of them are sold for a mere trifle, but the greatest part are filled with corn and forage, and on the door is inscribed "Magazin des armées." The change is almost incredible to those who remember, that less than four years ago the Catholic religion was still proudly practised, and the violation of their sanctuaries deemed sacrilegious. Our great historian might well say "the influence of superstition is fluctuating and precarious;" though, in the present instance, it has rather been restrained than subdued; and the people, who have not been convinced, but intimidated, secretly lament these innovations, and perhaps reproach themselves conscientiously with their submission.—Yours.

Gibbon.

MERCIER,

June 20: in his Tableau de Paris, notices, on several occasions, the little public spirit existing among his countrymen—it is also observable, that many of the laws and customs presume on this deficiency, and the name of republicans has by no means altered that cautious disposition which makes the French consider either misfortunes or benefits only as their personal interest is affected by them.—I am just returned from a visit to Abbeville, where we were much alarmed on Sunday by a fire at the Paraclete convent. The tocsin rang great "part of the day, and the principal street of the town was in danger of being destroyed. In such circumstances, you will suppose, that people of all ranks eagerly crowded to offer their service, and endeavour to stop the progress of so terrible a calamity. Nothing less—the gates of the town were shut to prevent its entire evacuation, many hid themselves in garrets and cellars, and dragoons patrolled the streets, and even entered the houses, to force the inhabitants to assist in procuring water; while the confirmation, usually the effect of such accidents, was only owing to the fear of being obliged to aid the sufferers.—This employment of military coercion for what humanity alone should dictate, is not ascribable to the principles of the present government—it was the same before the revolution, (except that the agents of the ancient system were not so brutal and despotic as the soldiers of the republic,) and compulsion was always deemed necessary where there was no stimulant but the general interest.

In England, at any alarm of the sort, all distinction of ranks is forgotten, and every one is solicitous to contribute as much as he is able to the safety of his fellow-citizens; and, so far from an armed force being requisite to procure assistance, the greatest difficulty is to repress the too-officious zeal of the crowd.—I do not pretend to account for this national disparity, but I fear what a French gentleman once said to me of the

Parisians is applicable to the general character, " Us font tous egoïstes" and they would not do a benevolent action at the risk of foiling a coat or tearing a ruffle.

Distrust of the assignats, and scarcity of bread, have occasioned a law to oblige the farmers, in every part of the republic, to sell their corn at a certain price, infinitely lower than that what they have exacted for some months past. The consequence of this was, that, on the succeeding market days, no corn came to market, and detachments of dragoons are obliged to scour the country to preserve us from a famine. If it did not convey an idea both of the despotism and want with which the nation is afflicted, one should be amused by the ludicrous figures of the farmers, who enter the town preceded by foldiers, and reposing with doleful visages on their sacks of wheat. Sometimes you see a couple of dragoons leading in triumph an old woman and an ass, who follow with lingering steps their military conductors; and the very ass seems to sympathize with his misfortunes on the disaster of selling her corn at a reduced price, and for paper, when she had hoped to hoard it till a counter-revolution should bring back gold and silver.

The farmers are now, perhaps, the greatest aristocrats in the country; but as both their patriotism and their aristocracy have been a mere calculation. of interest, the severity exercised on their avarice is not much to be regretted. The original fault is, however, in an usurped government, which inspires no confidence, who, to supply an administration lavish beyond all example, ample, has been obliged to issue such an immense quantity of paper as nearly to destroy its credit. In political, as in moral, vices, the first always necessitates a second, and these must still be sustained by others; until, at length, the very sense of right and wrong becomes impaired, and the latter is not only preferred from habit, but from choice.

Thus the arbitrary emission of paper has been necessarily followed by still more arbitrary decrees to support it. For instance—the people have been obliged to sell their corn at a fixed price, which has again been the source of various and general vexations. The farmers, irritated by this measure, concealed their grain, or sold it privately, rather than bring it to market.—Hence, some were supplied with bread, and others absolutely in want of it. This was remedied by the interference of the military, and a general search for corn has taken place in all houses without exception, in order to discover if any was secreted; even our bedchambers were examined on this occasion: but we begin to be so accustomed to the -visite domaniaire that we find ourselves suddenly surrounded by the Garde Nationale, without being greatly alarmed.—I know not how your English patriots. tritots, who are so enamoured of French liberty, yet thunder with the whole force of their eloquence against the ingreſs of an excise-man to a tobacco warehouse, would reconcile this domestic inquisition; for the municipalities here violate your tranquillity in this manner under any pretext they choose, and that too with an armed cortege sufficient to undertake the siege of your house in form.

About fifteen departments are in insurrection, ostensibly in behalf of the expelled Deputies; but I believe I am authorized in saying, it is by no means the desire of the people at large to interfere. All who are capable of reflection consider the dispute merely as a family quarrel, and are not partial enough to either party to adopt its cause. The troops they have already raised have been collected by the personal interest of the members who contrived to escape, or by an attempt of a few of the royalists to

make one half of the faction subservient to the destruction of the other. If you judge of the principles of the nation by the success of the Federalists, and the superiority of the Convention, certainly, you will be extremely deceived; for it is demonstrable, that neither the most zealous partisans of the ancient system, nor those of the abolished constitution, have taken any share in the dispute; and the departments most notoriously aristocratic have all signified their adherence to the proceedings of the Assembly. Those who would gladly take an active part in endeavouring to establish a good government, are averse from risking their lives and properties in the cause of Brissot or Condorcet.—At Amiens, where almost every individual is an aristocrat, the fugitive Deputies could not procure the least encouragement, but the town would have received Dumourier, and proclaimed the King without opposition. But this schism in the legislature is considered as a mere contest of banditti, about the division of spoil, not calculated to excite an interest in those they have plundered and oppressed.

On the 11th of May and end of June, the Convention, who had been for several months struggling with the Jacobin and the municipality of Paris, was surrounded by an armed force: the most moderate of the Deputies (those distinguished by the name of Brissotins,) were either menaced to a compliance with the measures of the opposite faction, or arrested; others took flight, and, by representing the violence and slavery in which the majority of the Convention was holden, excited some of the departments to take arms in their favour.—This contest, during its short existence, was called the war of the Federalists.—The result is well known.

The

The royalists who have been so mistaken as to make any effort on this occasion, will, I fear, fall a sacrifice, being for the most part without union or concert; and their junction with the Deputies renders them suspicious, if not odious, to their own party. The extreme difficulty, likewise, of communication between the departments, and the strict watch observed over all travellers, form another obstacle to the success of any attempt at present; and, on the whole, the only hope of deliverance for the French seems to rest upon the allied armies and the insurgents of La Vendée.

When I say this, I do not assert from prejudices, which often deceive, nor from conjecture, that is always fallible; but from unexceptionable information—from an intercourse with various ranks of people, and a minute observation of all. I have scarcely met with a single person who does not relate the progress of the insurgents in La Vendée with an air of satisfaction, or who does not appear to expect with impatience the surrender of Conde: and even their language, perhaps unconsciously, betrays their sentiments; for I remark, they do not, when they speak of any victory gained by the arms of the republic, say, Nous, or Notre

or Notre armée, but, Leand Français, and, Les troupes de la. république;—and that always in a tone as though they were speaking of an enemy.—Adieu.

June 30.

(JUR modern travellers are mostly either sentimental or philosophical, or courtly or political; and I do not remember to have read any who describe the manner of living among the gentry and middling ranks of life in France. I will, therefore, relieve your attention for a moment from our actual distresses, and give you the picture of a day as usually passed by those who have easy fortunes and no particular employment.—

The social affemblage of a whole family in the morning, as in England, is not very common, for the French do not generally breakfast: when they do, it is without form, and on fruit, bread, wine, and water, or some-times coffee; but tea is scarcely ever used, except by the sick. The morning is therefore passed with little intercourse, and in extreme idleness. The men loiter, riddle, work tapestry, and sometimes read, in a robe de chambre, or a jacket and "pantafaru;" while the ladies,

Travellers.

equipped as before equipped only in a short manteau and petticoat visit their birds, knit, or more frequently idle away the forenoon without doing any thing. It is not customary to walk or make visits before dinner, and if by chance any one calls, he is received in the bedchamber. At half past one or two they dine, but without altering the negligence of their apparel, and the business of the toilette does not begin till immediately after the repast. About four, visits of ceremony begin, and may be made till six or seven, according to the season; but those who intend passing an evening at any particular house, go before six, and the card parties generally finish between eight and nine. People then adjourn to their supper engagements, which are more common than those for dinner, and are, for the most part, in different places, and considered as a separate thing from the earlier amusements of the evening. They keep better hours than the English, most families being in bed by half past ten. The theatres are also regulated by these sober habits, and the dramatic representations are usually over by nine.

A day passed in this manner is, as you may imagine, susceptible of much ennui, and the French are accordingly more subject; to it than to any other complaint, and hold it in greater dread than either sickness or misfortune. They have no conception how one can remain two hours alone without being ennuyé à la mort; and but few, comparatively speaking, read for amusement: you may enter ten houses without seeing a book; and it is not to be wondered at that people, who make a point of fraying at home all the morning, yet do not read, are embarrassed with the disposition of so much time.—It is this that occasions such a general fondness for domestic animals, and so many barbarous musicians, and male-workers of tapestry and tambour.—I cannot but attribute this listlessness and dislike of morning exercise to the quantity of animal food the French eat at night, and going to rest immediately after it, in consequence of which their activity is checked by indigestions, and they feel heavy and uncomfortable for half the succeeding day. The French pique themselves on being a gay nation than the English; but they certainly must exclude their mornings from the account, for the forlorn and neglected figure of a Frenchman till dinner is a very antidote to cheerful-ness, especially if contrasted with the animation of our countrymen, whose forenoon is passed in riding or walking, and who make themselves at least decent before they appear even in their own families.

The great difficulty the French have in finding amusement makes them aver to long residences in the country, and it is very uncommon for those who can afford only one house not to prefer a town; but those whose fortune will admit of it live about three months of the year in the country, and the rest in the neighbouring town. This indeed, as they manage it, is no very considerable expence, for the same furniture often serves for both habitations, and the one they quit being left empty, requires no person to take charge of it, especially as house-breaking is very uncommon in France; at least it was

fo before the revolution, when the police was more strict, and the laws against robbers were more severe.

You will say I often describe the habits and manners of a nation so frequently visited, as though I were writing from Kamtschatka or Japan; yet it is certain, as I have remarked above, that those who are merely itinerant have not opportunities of observing the modes of familiar life so well as one who is stationary, and travellers are in general too much occupied by more important observations to enter into the minute and trifling details which are the subject of my communications to you.—But if your attention be sometimes fatigued by occurrences or relations too well known, or of too little consequence to be interesting, I claim some merit in never having once described the proportions of a building, nor given you the history of a town; and I might have contrived as well to tax your patience by an erudite description, as a superficial reflection, or a female remark. The truth is, my pen is generally guided by circumstances as they arise, and my ideas have seldom any deeper origin than the scene before me. I have no books here, and I am apt to think if professed travellers were deprived of this resource, many learned etymologies and much profound compilation would be lost to the modern reader.

The insurgents of La Vendee continue to have frequent and decided successes, but the insurrections in the other departments languish. The avowed object of liberating the Convention is not calculated to draw adherents, and if any better purpose be intended, while a faction are the promoters of it, it will be regarded with too much suspicion to procure any effect—

Vol. i. Universal movement. Yet, however partial and unconnected this revolt may be, it is an object of great jealousy and inquietude: all the addresses or petitions brought in favour of it are received with disapprobation, and suppressed in the official bulletin of the legislature; but those which express contrary sentiments are ordered to be inserted with the usual terms of "applaud, adopt, et mention honorable"—In this manner the army and the people, who derive their intelligence from these accounts, (which are parted up in the streets,) are kept in ignorance of the real state of distant provinces, and, what is still more important for the Convention, it retards the communication of examples which they know so many are disposed to imitate.

The people here are nearly in the same state they have been in for some time: murmuring in secret, and submitting in public; expecting every thing from that energy in others which they have not themselves, and accumulating the discontents they are obliged to suppress. The Convention call them the brave republicans of Amiens; but if their bravery were as unequivocal as their aristocracy, they would soon be at the gates of Paris. Even the first levies are not all departed for the frontiers, and some who were prevailed on to go are already returned.—All the necessities of life are augmenting in price—the people complain, pillage the shops and the markets one day, and want the next. Many of the departments have opposed the recruiting much more decidedly than they have ventured to do here; and it was not without inspiring terror by numerous arrests, that the levies which were immediately necessary were procured.—France offers no prospect but that of scarcity, disorder, and oppression; and my friends begin to perceive that we have committed an imprudence in remaining

so long. No passports can now be obtained, and we must, as well as several very respectable families still here, abide the event of the war.

It is some weeks since I have had letters from England, and those we receive from the interior come open, or sealed with the seal of the district. This is not peculiar to our letters, as being foreigners, but the same unceremonious inspection is practised with the correspondence of the French themselves. Thus, in this land of liberty, all epistolary intercourse has ceased, except for mere matters of business; and though in the declaration of the rights of man it be asserted, asserted, that every one is entitled to write or print his thoughts, yet it is certain no person can entrust a letter to the post, but at the risk of having it opened; nor could Mr. Thomas Paine himself venture to express the slightest disapprobation of the measures of government, without hazarding his freedom, and, in the end, perhaps, his life. Even these papers, which I reserve only for your amusement, which contain only the opinions of an individual, and which never have been communicated, I am obliged to conceal with the utmost circumspection; for, should they happen to fall into the hands of our domiciliary inquisitors, I should not, like your English libellists, escape with the gentle correction of imprisonment, or the pillory.—A man, who had murdered his wife, was lately condemned to twenty years imprisonment only; but people are guillotined every day for a simple discourse, or an inadvertent expression. Yours.

Amiens, July 5.

Justice will be some consolation to the French, if from the wreck of their civil liberty, they be able to preserve the mode of administering justice as established by the constitution of 1789. Were I not warranted by the best information, I should not venture an opinion on the subject; without much diffidence, but chance has afforded me opportunities that do not often occur to a stranger, and the new code appears to me, in many parts, singularly excellent, both as to principle and practice.—Justice is here gratuitous—those who administer it are elected by the people—they depend only on their salaries, and have no fees whatever. Reasonable allowances are made to witnesses both for time and expences at the public charge—also is not doubled by the costs of a prosecution to recover it. In cases of robbery, where property found is detained for the sake of proof, it does not become the prey of official rapacity, but an absolute restitution takes place.—The legislature has, in many respects, copied the laws of England, but it has simplified the forms, and rectified those abuses which make our proceedings almost as formidable to the prosecutor as to the culprit. Having to compose an entire new system, and us 3 being being unhackled by professional reverence for precedents, they were at liberty to benefit by example, to reject those errors which have been long sanctioned by their antiquity, and are still permitted to exist, through our dread of innovation. The French, however, made an attempt to improve on the trial by jury, which I think only evinces that the institution as adopted in England is not to be excelled. The decision is here given by ballot—unanimity is not required—and three white balls are sufficient to acquit the prisoner. This deviation from our mode seems to give the rich an advantage over the poor. I fear, that, in the number of twelve men taken from any country, it may sometimes happen that three may be found corruptible: now the wealthy delinquent can avail himself of this human

failing; but, " through tattered robes small vices do appear," and the indigent finner has less chance of escaping than another.

It is to be supposed, that, at this time, the vigour of the criminal laws is much relaxed, and their execution difficult. The army offers refuge and impunity to guilt of all kinds, and the magistrates themselves would be apprehensive of pursuing an offender who was protected by the mob, or, which is the same thing, the

Jacobins.

The groundwork of much of the French civil jurisprudence is arbitration, particularly in those trifling processes which originate in a spirit of litigation; and it is not easy for man here, however well disposed, to spend twenty pounds in a contest about as many pence, or ruin himself to secure the possession of half an acre of land. In general, redress is easily obtained without unnecessary procrastination, and with little or no cost. Perhaps most legal codes may be simple and efficacious at their first institution, and the circumstance of their being encumbered with forms which render them complex and expensive, may be the natural consequence of length of time and change of manners. Littleton might require no commentary in the reign of Henry II. and the mysterious fictions that constitute the science of modern judicature were perhaps familiar, and even necessary, to our ancestors. It is to be regretted that we cannot adapt our laws to the age in which we live, and assimilate them to our customs; but the tendency of our nature to extremes perpetuates evils, and makes both the wise and the timid enemies to reform. We fear, like John. u 4 Calvin, Calvin, to tear the habit while we are stripping off the superfluous decoration; and the example of this country will probably long add as a discouragement to all change, either judicial or political. The very name of France will repress the desire of innovation—we shall cling to abuses as though they were our support, and every attempt to remedy them will become an object of suspicion and terror.—Such are the advantages which mankind will derive from the French revolution.

The Jacobin constitution is now finished, and, as far as I am able to judge, it is what might be expected from such an origin: calculated to flatter the people with an imaginary sovereignty—to place the whole power of election in the class most easily misled—to exclude from the representation those who have a natural interest in the welfare of the country, and to establish the reign of anarchy and intrigue.—Yet, howeveraverse the greater number of the French may be from such a constitution, no town or district has dared to reject it; and I remark, that amongst those who have been foremost in offering their acceptance, are many of the places most notoriously aristocratic. I have enquired of some of the inhabitants of these very zealous towns on what principle they acted so much in opposition to their known sentiments: the reply is always, that they fear the vengeance of the Jacobins, and that they are awed by military force. This reasoning is, of course, unanswerable; and we learn, from the debates of the Convention, that the people have received the new constitution " avec la plus vive reconnaissance" and that they have all sworn to die in its defence. Yours, andc.

July 14.

THE return of this day cannot but suggest very melancholy reflections to all who are witnesses of the changes a single year has produced. In twelve months only

the government of France has been overturned, her commerce destroyed, the country depopulated to raise armies, and the people deprived of bread to support them.—A despotism more absolute than that of Turkey is established, the manners of the nation are corrupted, and its moral character disgraced in the eyes of all Europe. A barbarous rage has laid waste the fairest monuments of art—whatever could embellish society or contribute to soften existence has disappeared under the reign of these modern Goths—even the necessaries of life are becoming rare and inadequate to the consumption—the rich are plundered and persecuted, yet the poor are in want—the national credit is in the last stage of debasement, yet an immense debt is created, and daily accumulating; and apprehension, distrust, and misery, are almost universal.—All this is the work of a set of adventurers who are now divided among themselves—who are accusing each other of those crimes which the world imputes to them all—and who, conscious they can no longer deceive the nation, now govern with the fear and suspicion of tyrants. Every thing is sacrificed to the army and Paris, and the people are robbed of their subsistence to supply an iniquitous metropolis, and a military force that awes and oppresses them.

The new constitution has been received here officially, but no one seems to take the least interest in it: it is regarded in just the same light as a new tax, or any other ministerial mandate, not sent to be discussed but obeyed. The mode of proclaiming it conveyed a very just idea of its origin and tendency. It was placed on a cushion, supported by Jacobins in their red caps, and surrounded by dragons.

It seemed the image of Anarchy, guarded by Despotism.—In this manner they paraded the town, and the sacred volume was then deposited on an altar erected on the Grande Place.—The Garde Nationale, who were ordered to be under arms, attended, and the constitution was read. A few of the soldiers cried *Vive la republique* /" and every one returned home with countenances in which delight was by no means the prevailing expression.

A trifling incident which I noticed on this occasion will serve, among others of the same kind that I could enumerate, to prove that even the very lower classes of the people begin to ridicule and despise their legislators. While a municipal officer was very gravely reading the constitution, an ass forced his way across the square, and placed himself near where the ceremony was performing: a boy, who was under our window, on observing it, cried out, Why don't they give him the accolade fraternelle? "Yes," (rejoined another,) and admit admit him aux honneurs de la fiance. This disposition to jest with their misfortunes is, however, not so common as it was formerly. A lion may alleviate the loss of a battle, and a lampoon on the court folace under the burthen of a new impost; but the most thoughtless or improvident can find nothing very facetious in the prospect of absolute want—and those who have been used to laugh under a circumscription of their political liberty, feel very seriously the evil of a government which endows its members with unlimited power, and enables a Deputy, often the meanest and most profligate character of his department, to imprison all whom caprice, interest, or vengeance, may doom to imprisonment.

Fraternal embrace.—This is the reception given by the President to any one whom the Convention wishes particularly to distinguish. On an occasion of the sort, the fraternal embrace given to an old Negress.—The honours of the thing are all I know this will appear so monstrous to an Englishman, that, had I an opportunity of communicating

such a circumstance before it were publicly authenticated, you would suppose daily accorded to deputations of fifth-women, chimney-sweepers, children, and all whose missions are flattering; There is no homage so mean as not to gratify the pride of those to whom dominion is new; and these expressions are so often and so strangely applied, that it is not surprising they are become the cant phrases of the mob.

To the honours of the fitting.

perhaps it is impossible, and imagine I had been mistaken, or had written only from report; it is nevertheless true, that every part of France is inferred by these Commissioners, who dispose, without appeal, of the freedom and property of the whole department to which they are sent. It frequently happens, that men are delegated to places where they have resided, and thus have an opportunity of gratifying their personal malice on all who are so unfortunate as to be obnoxious to them. Imagine, for a moment, a village-attorney dealing with uncontrouled authority over the country where he formerly exercised his profession, and you will have some idea of what passes here, except that I hope no class of men in England are so bad as those which compose the major part of the National Convention. Yours, Sec.

July 23;

THE events of Paris which are any way remarkable are so generally circulated, that I do not often mention them, unless to mark their effect on the provinces, but you will be so much misled by the public papers with regard to the death of Marat, that I think it necessary to

notice the subject while it is yet recent in fresh memory. Were the clubs, the Convention, the factions of Paris to be regarded as expressing the sense of the people, the assassination of this turbulent journalist must be considered as a national misfortune; yet so far is this from being the case, that the departments are for the most part, if not rejoiced, indifferent—and many of those who impute to him the honour of martyrdom, or assist at his apoplexy, are much better satisfied both with his christian and liegion glories, than they were while he was living to propagate anarchy and pillage. The reverence of the Convention itself is a mere political pantomime. Within the last twelve months nearly all the individuals who compose it have treated Marat with contempt, and I perfectly remember even Danton, one of the members of the Committee of Salut Publique, accusing him of being a contre revolutionnaire.

But the people, to use a popular expression here, require to be electrified.—St. Fargeau is almost forgotten, and Marat is to serve the same purposes when dead, to which he contributed while living.—An extreme grossness and want of feeling form the characteristic feature of the Parisians; they are ignorant, credulous, and material, and the Convention do not fail on all occasions to avail themselves of these qualities. The corpse of Marat decently enclosed in a coffin would have made little impression, and it was not pity, but revenge, which was to be excited. The disgusting object of a dead leper was therefore exposed to the eyes of a metropolis calling itself the most refined and enlightened of all Europe—

"And what oblivion better were assigned

"Is hung on high to poison half mankind."

I know not whether these lines are most applicable to the display of Marat's body, or the consecration of his fame, but both will be A. a lasting stigma on the manners and morals of Paris.

If the departments, however, take no interest in the loss of Marat, the young woman who affianced him has created a very lively Orde. The flighty anecdotes concerning her are collected with avidity, and repeated with! admiration; and this is a still farther proof of what you have heard me advance, that neither patriotism nor humanity has an abundant growth in this country. The French applaud an act in itself horrid and unjustifiable, while they have scarcely any conception of the motive, and such a sacrifice seems to them some thing supernatural.—The Jacobins assert, that Charlotte Corday was an emissary of the allied powers, or rather of Mr. Pitt; and the Parisians have the confidence to believe, that a young woman could devote herself to certain destruction! Hon at the imitation of another person, as though the same principles which would lead a person to undertake a diplomatic commission, would induce them to meet death.

I wrote some days ago to a lady of my acquaintance at Caen, to beg she would procure me some information relative to this extraordinary female, and I subjoin an extract of her answer, which I have just received:

"Miss Corday was a native of this department, and had, from her earliest years, been very carefully educated by an aunt who lives at Caen. Before she was twenty she had decided on taking the veil, and her novitiate was just expired when the Constituent Assembly interdicted all religious vows for the future: she then left the convent, and resided entirely with her aunt. The beauty of her person, and particularly her mental acquisitions, which were superior to that of French women in general, made her an object of much admiration. She spoke uncommonly well, and her discourse often turned on the ancients, and on such subjects as indicated that masculine turn of mind which has since proved so fatal to her. Perhaps her conversation was a little tinged with that pedantry not unjustly attributed to our sex when they have a little more knowledge than usual, but, at the same time, not in such a degree as to render her conversation unpleasant. She seldom gave any opinion on the revolution, but frequently attended the municipalities to solicit the pensions of the expelled religious, or on any other occasion where she could be useful to her friends. On the arrival of Petion, Bar-baroux, and others of the Brissotine faction, she began to frequent the clubs, and to take a more lively interest in political affairs. Petion, and Barbaroux especially, seemed to be much respected by her. It was even said, she had a tender partiality for the latter, but this I believe is untrue.—I dined with her at her aunt's on the Sunday previous to her departure for Paris. Nothing very remarkable appeared in her behaviour, except that she was much affected by a muster of the recruits who were to march against Paris, and seemed to think Vol. i. X many many lives might be lost on the occasion, without obtaining any relief for the country.—On the Tuesday following she left Caen, under pretext of visiting her father, who lives at Sees. Her aunt accompanied her to the gate of the town, and the separation was extremely sorrowful on both sides. The subsequent events are too well known to need recital."

On her trial, and at her execution, Miss Corday was firm and modest; and I have been told, that in her last moments her whole figure was interesting beyond description.

She was tall, well formed, and beautiful—her eyes, especially, were fine and expressive—even her dress was not neglected, and a simple white dress added to the charms of this self-devoted victim. On the whole, it is not possible to ascertain precisely the motives which determined her to assassinate Marat. Her letter to Barbaroux expresses nothing but republican sentiments; yet it is difficult to conceive that a young woman, who had voluntarily embraced the life of a cloister, could be really of this way of thinking.—I cannot but suppose her connection with the Deputies arose merely from an idea that they might be the instruments of restoring the abolished government, and her profession of republican principles after he was arrested might probably be with a view of saving Duperret, and others of the party, who were still in the power of the Convention.—Her selection of Marat still remains to be accounted for. He was, indeed, the most violent of the Jacobins, but not the most dangerous, and the death of several others might have been more serviceable to the cause. Marat was, however, the avowed persecutor of priests and religion, and if we attribute any influence to Miss Corday's former habits, we may suppose them to have had some share in the choice of her victim. Her refusal of the ministry of a constitutional priest at the scaffold strengthens me in this opinion. We pay a kind of involuntary tribute of admiration to such firmness of mind in a young and beautiful woman; and I do not recollect that history has transmitted any thing parallel to the heroism of Charlotte Corday. Love, revenge, and ambition, have often sacrificed their victims, and sustained the courage of their votaries under punishment; but a female, animated by no personal motives, sensible only to the misfortunes of her country, patriotic both from feeling and reflection, and sacrificing herself from principle, is singular in the annals of human nature.—Yet, after doing justice to such an instance of fortitude and philanthropic devotion, I cannot but sincerely lament the act to which it has given rise. At a time when so many spirits are irritated by despair and oppression, the example may be highly pernicious, and a cause, however good, must always be injured by the use of such means in its support.—Nothing can sanctify an assassination; and were not the French more vindictive than humane, the crimes of the republican party would find a momentary refuge in this injudicious effort to punish them.

My friend La Marquise de has left

Paris, and is now at Peronne, where she has engaged me to pass a few weeks with her; so that my next will most probably be dated from thence.—Mr. D is endeavouring to get a passport for England. He begins to regret having remained here. His temper, naturally impatient of restraint, accords but ill with the portion of liberty enjoyed by our republicans. Corporal privations and mental interdictions multiply so fast, that irritable people like him—self, and valetudinarians like Mrs. D and me, could not choose a worse residence; and, as we are now unanimous on the subject, I hope soon to leave the country.—There is,

as you observe in your last, something of indolence as well as friendship in my having so long remained here; but if actions were always analyzed so strictly, and we were not allowed to derive a little credit from our weaknesses, how many great characters would be reduced to the common level. Voltaire introduced a sort of rage for anecdotes, and for tracing all events to trifling causes, which has done much more towards exploding the old-fashioned system of the dignity of human nature than the

dry maxims of Rochefoucault, the fophisms of Mande-ville, or even the malicious wit of Swift. This is also another effect of the progress of philosophy; and this sort of moral Quixotism, continually in search of evil, and more gratified in discovering it than pained by its existence, may be very philosophical; but it is at least gloomy and discouraging; and we may be permitted to doubt whether mankind become wiser or better by learning, that those who have been most remarkable either for wisdom or virtue were occasionally under the influence of the same follies and passions as other people.—Your uncharitable discernment, you see, has led me into a digression, and I have, without intending it, connected the motives of my stay with reflections on Voltaire's General History, x 3. Barillons Barillons Letters, and all the secret biography of our modern libraries. This, you will say, is only a chapter of a "man's importance to himself;" but public affairs are now so confused and disgusting, that we are glad to encourage any train of ideas not associated with them. t

The Commissioners I gave you some account of in a former letter are departed, and we have lately had Chabot, an Ex-capuchin, and a patriot of special note in the Convention, and one Dumont, an attorney of a neighbouring village. They are, like all the rest of these mis-fionaries, entrusted with unlimited powers, and inspire apprehension and dismay wherever they approach. The Garde Nationale of Amiens are not yet entirely subdued to the times, and Chabot gave some hints of a project to disarm them, and actually attempted to arrest some of their officers; but, apprized of his design, they remained two nights under arms, and the Capuchin, who is not martially inclined, was so alarmed at this indication of resistance, that he has left the town with more haste than ceremony.—He had, in an harangue at the cathedral, inculcated some very edifying doctrines on the division of property and the right of pillage & pillage; and it is not improbable, had he not withdrawn, but the Amienois would have ventured, on this pretext, to arrest him. Some of them contrived, in spite of the sentinel placed at the lodging of these great men, to paste up on the door two figures, with the names of Chabot and Dumont, in the "fatal petition of the unfortunate brave;" and though certain events in the lives of these Deputies may have rendered this perspective of their last moments not absolutely a novelty, yet I do not recollect that Akenfide, or any other author, has enumerated a gibbet amongst the objects, which, though not agreeable in themselves, may be reconciled to the mind by familiarity. I wish, therefore, our representatives may not, in return for this admonitory portrait of their latter end, draw some vengeance on the town, not easily to be appeased. I am no astrologer, but in our sublunary world the conjunction of an attorney and a renegade monk cannot present a fortunate aspect; and I am truly anxious to find myself once again under the more benign influence of your English hemisphere.—Yours.

x 4 Every . Feroirne, July 19.

TijvERY attempt to obtain passports has been fruitless, and, with that sort of discontented re-signation which is the effect of necessity, I now look upon myself as fixed here till the peace. I left Mr. and Mrs. D-yesterday morning, the disappointment operating upon them in full force. The former takes longer walks than usual, breaks out in philippics against tyrannies of all kinds, and swears ten times a day that the French are the most noisy people upon earth—the latter is vexed, and, for that reason, fancies

she is ill, and calculates, with good ingenuity, all the hazard and inconvenience we may be liable to by remaining here. I hope, on my return, to find them more reconciled.

At Villars de Bretonne, on my road hither, some people told me, with great gaiety, that the English had made a descent on the coast of Picardy. Such a report (for I did not suppose it possible) during the last war would have made me tremble, but I heard this without alarm, having, in no instance, seen the people take that kind of interest in public events which formerly made a residence in France unpleasant to an individual of an hostile nation. It is not that that they are become more liberal, or better informed—no change of this kind has been discovered even by the warmest advocates of the revolution; but they are more indifferent, and those who are not decidedly the enemies of the present government, for the most part concern themselves as little about the events of the war as though it were carried on in the South Sea.

I fear I should risk an imputation on my veracity, were I to describe to what a degree the French are ignorant and unreflecting as to public men and measures. They draw no conclusions from the past, form no conjectures for the future, and, after exclaiming "Il ne peut pas durer comme cela" they, with a resignation which is certainly neither pious nor philosophic leave the rest to the agency of Providence.—Even those who are more informed so bewilder themselves in the politics of Greece and Rome, that they do not perceive how little these are applicable to their own country. Indeed, it should seem, that no modern age or people is worthy the knowledge of a Frenchman.—I have often remarked, in the course of our correspondence, how little they are acquainted with what regards England or the English; and scarcely scarcely a day passes that I have not occasion to make the same observation.

My conductor hither, who is a friend "of

Marl. de T, and esteemed "un infatigable"

was much surprized when I told him that the population and size of London exceeded that of Paris—that we had good fruit, and better vegetables than were to be found in many parts of France. I saw that he suspected my veracity, and there is always on these occasions such a decided and impenetrable incredulity in a Frenchman as precludes all hopes of convincing him. He listens with a sort of self-sufficient complacency which tells you he does not consider your assertions as any thing more than the exaggerations of national vanity, but that his politeness does not allow him to contradict you. I know nothing more disgustingly impertinent than this ignorance, which intrenches itself behind the forms of civility, and, affecting to decline controversy, assumes the merit of forbearance and moderation: yet this must have been often observed by every one who has lived much in French society: for the first emotion of a Frenchman, on hearing any thing which tends to place another country on an equality with France, is doubt—this doubt is instantly reinforced by vanity—and, in a few seconds, he is perfectly satisfied that the thing is impossible.

One must be captious indeed to object: to this, did it arise from that patriotic feeling so common in the English; but here it is all vanity, downright vanity: a Frenchman must have his country and his misfortunes admired, though he does not often care much for either one or the other. I have been in various parts of France in the most critical periods of the revolution—I have conversed with people of all parties and of all ranks—and I assert, that I have never yet met but with one man who had a grain of real patriotism. If

the Athenian law were adopted which doomed all to death who should be indifferent to the public welfare in a time of danger, I fear there would be a woeful depopulation here, even among the loudest champions of democracy.

It is not thirty miles from Amiens to Pe-ronne, yet a journey of thirty miles is not now to be undertaken inconsiderately; the horses are so much worked, and so ill fed, that few perform such a distance without rest and management. If you wish to take others, and continue your route, you cannot, or if you wait while your own horses are refreshed, as a reward for your humanity you get starved yourself. Bread being very scarce, no family can get more than sufficient for its own consumption, and those who travel without first supplying themselves do it at the risk of finding none on the road.

Peronne is chiefly remarkable in history for never having been taken, and for a tower where Louis XL was confined for a short time, after being outwitted in a manner somewhat surprising for a Monarch who piqued himself on his talents for intrigue, by Charles le Temeraire, Duke of Burgundy. Its modern reputation arises from having elected the Abbe Maury as representative, and for entertaining political principles every way analogous to such a choice.

I found the Marquise much altered in her person, and her health much impaired, by the frequent alarms and continued apprehensions she had been subject to at Paris. Fortunately she has no imputation against her but her rank and fortune, for she is utterly guiltless of all political opinions; so that I hope she will be

suffered to knit stockings, tend her birds and dogs, and read romances in peace. Yours, &c. &c.

August 1.

WHEN the creation of assignats was first proposed, much ingenuity was employed in conjecturing, and much eloquence displayed in expatiating upon, the various evils that might result from them; yet the genius of party, however usually successful in gloomy perspective, did not at that time imagine half the inconvenience this measure was fraught with. It was easy, indeed, to foresee, that an immense circulation of paper, like any other currency, must augment the price of every thing; but the excessive discredit of the assignats, operating accidentally to their quantity, has produced a train of collateral effects of greater magnitude than even those that were originally apprehended. Within the last twelve months the whole country are become monopolizers—the dream of realizing has so possessed all degrees of people, that there is scarcely an article of consumption which is not bought up and secreted. One would really suppose that nothing was possible but the national credit—the noble, the merchant, the shopkeeper, all who have assignats, engage in these speculations, and the necessities of our dissipated heirs do not drive them to resources for obtaining money more whimsical than the commerce now practiced here to get rid of it. I know a beau who has converted his hypothec on the national domains into train oil, and a General who has given these "airy nothings" the substance and form of hemp and leather! Goods purchased from such motives are not as you may conceive sold till the temptation of an exorbitant profit seduces the proprietor to risk a momentary possession of assignats, which are again disposed of in a similar way. Thus many necessities of life are withdrawn from circulation, and when

Mortgage.

In the late rage for monopolies in France, a person who had observed the vast daily consumption of onions, garlic, and eschalots, conceived the project of making the whole district of Amiens tributary for this indispensable article. In consequence, he attended several market-days, and purchased all that came in his way. The country people finding a ready sale for their onions, poured in from all quarters, and our projector found that, in proportion as he bought, the market became more profusely supplied, and that the commodity he had hoped to monopolize was inexhaustible.

As a real scarcity ensues, they are produced to the people, charged with all the accumulated gains of these intermediate barter!

This illiberal and pernicious commerce, which avarice and fear have for some time kept in great activity, has at length attracted the notice of the Convention, and very severe laws are now enacted against monopolies of all kinds. The holder of any quantity of merchandize beyond what he may be supposed to consume is obliged to declare it to his municipality, and to expose the articles he deals in in writing over his door. These clauses, as well as every other part of the decree, seem very wise and equitable; but I doubt if the severity of the punishment annexed to any transgression of it will not operate so as to defeat the purposes intended. A false declaration is punishable by six years imprisonment, and an absolute non-compliance with death.—Blackstone remarks, that it is the certainty, not the severity, of punishment, which makes laws efficacious; and this must ever be the case amongst an humane people.—An inordinate desire of gain is not often considered by mankind as very criminal, and those who would willingly subject it to its adequate punishment of fine and confiscation will hesitate to become the means of inflicting death on the offender, or of depriving him of his liberty. The Poets have, from time immemorial, claimed a kind of exclusive jurisdiction over the sin of avarice: but, unfortunately, minds once steered by this vice are not often sensible to the attacks of ridicule; and I have never heard that any poet, from Plautus to Moliere, has reformed a single miser. I am not, therefore, sorry that our legislature has encroached on this branch of the poetical prerogative, and only with that the mild regimen of the Muses had been succeeded by something less rigid than the prison or the guillotine. It is true, that, in the present instance, it is not the ordinary and habitual practice of avarice that has called forth the severity of the laws, but a species of destruction live and extensive in its consequences, that much may be said in defence of any penalty short of death; and such is the general distrust of the paper, that I really believe, had not some measure of the kind been adopted, no article susceptible of monopoly would have been left for consumption. There are, however, those who retort on the government, and assert, that the origin of the evil is in the waste and speculation of its agents, which also make the immense emission of paper more necessary; necessary; and they are right in the fact, though not in their deduction, for as the evil does exist, whatever may be the cause, it is certainly wise to endeavour to remedy it.

The position of Valenciennes, which is supposed to be on the eve of a surrender—the progress of the insurgents in La Vendee—the discontent in the South—and the charge of treachery against so many of the Generals, and particularly Custine—all together seem to have agitated the public extremely: yet it is rather the agitation of uncertainty than

that occasioned by any deep impreffion of hope or fear. The people wifh to be relieved from their prefent Situation, yet are without any determinate views for the future; and, indeed, in this part of the country, where they have neither leaders nor union, it would be very difficult for them to take a more active part.

The party of the federalifts languifh, and that becaufe it is nothing more than a party, and a party of which the heads excite neither intereft nor efteem. I conclude you learn from the papers all the more important events, and I confine myfelf, as ufual, to fuch details as I think lefs likely to reach you. The humanity of the Englifh muft

Vol. i. Y often often banifh their political animofities whert they read what paffes here; and thoufands of my countrymen muft at this moment lament with me the fituation to which France is reduced by projects in which common fenfe can diftinguifh no medium between wickednefs and folly.

-All apparent attachment to royalifm is now cautiously avoided, but the royalifts do not diminifh by perfecution, and the induftry with which they propagate their opinions is nearly a match for all the force arme of the republicans.—It is not eafy to print pamphlets or hewfpapers, but there are certain fhops which bn would think were difcovered by infinct, where are fold a variety of myfterious emblems of royalty, fuch as fans that have no vifible ornaments except landfcapes, andc. but when opened by the initiated, prefent tolerable likenefles of the Royal Family; fuff-boxes with fecret lids, containing miniature bufts of the late King; and mufic fo in-genioufly printed, that what to the common eye offers only fome popular air, when folded fo as to join the heads and tails of the notes together, forms fentences of very treafonable import, and by no means flattering to the ex.-i "ifting jfting government.—I. have known thefe interdicted trifles purchafed at extravagant prices by the beft-reputed patriots, and by officers who in public breathe nothing but unconquerable democracy, and deteftation of Kings. Yet, though thefe things are circulated with extreme caution, every body has fomething of the fort, andj as Charles Surface fays, for my partj I dont fee who is out of the fecfet."

The belief in religious miracles is exploded and it is only in political ones that the faith of the people is allowed to exercife itfelf.—We have lately feeh exhibited at the fairs and markets a calf, produced into the World with the tri-coloured cockade on its head; and on the painted cloth that announces the phenomenon is the portrait of this natural revolutioniftj with a mayor and municipality in their official fcarfsj addreffing the four-footed patriot with great ceremonyi bvv i .;—I.—We fet Out early to-morrow morning for Soiflbns, which is about twenty leagues from hence. Travelling is not very defirable in the prefent circumftahces, but Mad. de F—has fojne affairs to fettle there which cannot well y a be

be entrusted to a third perfon. The times, however, have a very hoftile appearance, and we intend, if poffible, to be abfent but three days. Yours.

Soifibns, Auguft 4.

you may go by Beauvais if you will, for which reafon many go by Beauvais;" and the franger who turns out of his road to go by Soiflbns, muft ufe the fame reafoning, for the confcioufnefs of having exercifed his free agency will be all his reward for vifiting Soif-fons. This, by the way; for my journey hither not being one of curiofity, I have no right to complain; yet fomehow or other, by affociating the idea of the

famous Vafe, the ancient re-fidence of the firft French Kings, and other circumftances as little connected as thefe I fup-pofe with modern hifhory, I had ranked Soiffons in my imagination as one of the places I fhould fee with intereft. I find it, however, only a dull, decent-looking town, tolerably large, but not very populous. In the new divifion of France it is the capital of the department De l'Aifne l'Aifne, and is of courfe the feat of the admi-niftration.

We left Peronne early, and being fo fortunate as to encounter no accidental delays, we arrived within a league of Soiffons early in the afternoon.—Mad. de F, recollecting an acquaintance who has a chateau not far out of our road, determined to ftop an hour or two, for, as fhe faid, her friend was fo "fond of the country," fhe fhould be fure to find him there. We did indeed find this Monfieur, who is fo "fond of the country," at home, extremely well powdered, dreffed in a ftriped Jilk coat, and engaged with a card party, on a warm afternoon on the third of Auguft.—The chateau was fituated as a French chateau ufually is fo as to be benefited by all the noifes and odours of the village—built with a large fingle front,. and a number of windows fo judiciously placed, that it muft be impoffible either to be cool in fummer or warm in winter.

We walked out after taking fome coffee, and I learned that this lover of the country did not . keep a fingle acre of land in his own hands, but that the part immediately contiguous to y 3 the the houfe was Cultivated for a certain fliare of the profit by a farmer who lives in a miferable looking place adjoining, and where I faw the operations of the dairy-maid carried on amidft pigs, ducks, and turkeys, who feemed to have eflablifhed a very familiar accefs.

Previous to our arrival at Soiffons, the Mar-quife (who, though fhe does not confider me. as an ariftocrat, knows I am by no means a, republican, begged me to be cautious in ex-preffing my fentiments, as the Comte de—where we were going, had embraced the prin-eiples of the revolution very warmly, and had been-much blamed by his family on this account. Mad. de F added, that fhe had not feen him for above a year, but that lhe believed him ftill to be extrmementpatriote" We reached Monf. de—s juft as the family-were fet down to a very moderate fupper, and I obferved that their plate had been replaced by pewter. After the firft falutations were over, it was foon vifible that the political notions of the Count were much changed. He is a fen-fible, reflecting man, and feems really to wifh the good of his country. He thinks, with many others, that all the good effects which might have been obtained by the revolution will be loft through the contempt and hatred which die republican government has drawn upon it.

Monf. de has two fons who have dif- finguihed themfelves very honourably in the army, and he has himfelf made great pecuniary facrifices; But this has not fecured him from numerous domiciliary vifits and vexations of all kinds. The whole family are at intervals a little penfive, and Monf. de told us, at a moment when the ladies were abfent, that the taking of Valenciennes had occafioned a violent fermentation at Paris, and that he had ferious apprehenfions for thofe who have the misfortune to be diftinguifhed by their rank, or obnoxious from their fuppofed principles—that he himfelf, and all who were prefumed to have an attachment to the conftitution of eighty-nine,—wre much more feared, and of. courfe mnrp fuft petted, than the original ariftocrats—and enfin" that he had made up his mind a la Frantfaife to the worft that could happen.: i.

I have juft run over the papers of the day, and I perceive that the debates of the Convention are filled^d with invectives againft the Englifh. A letter has been very opportunely y 4 found found on the ramparts of Lifle, which is intended to perfuade the people that the Britifh government has diftributed money and phof-phoric matches in every town in France—the one to provoke infurreandion, the other to fet fire to the corn. You will conclude this letter to be a fabrication, and it is imagined and executed with fo little ingenuity, that I doubt whether it will impofe on the moft ignorant of the people for a moment.

The Queen has been transferred to the Con-ciergerie, or common prifon, and a decree is paffed for trying her; but perhaps at this moment (whatever may be the refult hereafter) they only hope her fituation may operate as a check upon the enemy; at leaft I have heard it doubted by many whether they intend to proceed ferioufly on this trial fo long threatened.—Perhaps I may have before noticed to you that the Convention never feemed capable of any thing great or uniform, and that all their proceedings took a tinge from that frivolity and meannefs which I am almoft tempted to believe inherent in the French character. They have juft now, amidft a long firing of decrees, the objects of which are of the firft con-fequence, inferted one for the deftrudtion of all the royal tombs before the tenth of Auguft, and another for reducing the expences of the Kings children, particularly their food, to bare neceffaries. Had our Englifh revolutionifts thus employed themfelves, they might have expelled the fculptured Monarchs from the Abbey, and waged a very fuccefsful war on the admirers of Gothic antiquity; but neither the Stuarts, nor the Catholic religion, would have had much to fear from them,

" The National Convention, in the name of vfolated humanity, denounces to all the world, and to the people of England in particular, the bafe, perfidious, and wicked con-duel of the Britifh government, which does not hefitate to employ fire, poifon, aflaffination, and every other crime, to procure the triumph of tyranny, and the dcfturction of the fights of man."

Decree, ft Auguft, 1793.

f to have been wandering about the town all day, and I have not remarked that the fucceffes of the enemy appear to occafion any regret. When I was in France three years ago, you jnay recollect that my letters ufually contained fome relation of our embarraffment and delays, owing to the fear and ignorance of the people. At one place they apprehended the introduc tion tion of foreign troops—at another, that the Comte d'Artois was to burn all the corn. In fhort, the whole country teemd with plots and counterplots, every one of which was more ab-furd and inexplicable than thofe of Gates, with his whole tribe of Jefuits. At prefent, when a powerful army is invading the frontiers, and that people have not in many places bread to tat, they feem to be very little folicitous about the former, and as little difpofed to blame the ariftocrats for the latter,.

It is really extraordinary, after all the pains that have been taken to excite hatred and re-fentment againft the Englifh, that I have not heard of a fingle instance where they have been Infulted or molefted. Whatever inconvenien-cies they may have been fubjected to, were acts of the government, not of the people; and perhaps this is the firft war between the two jiations in which it has not been vice I accompanied Mad. de . this afternoon to the houfe of a rich merchant, where Hie had bulinefs, and who,

he told me, had been a furious patriot, but his ardour is now considerably abated. He was just returned from the department,

IN department, where his affairs had led him; and he assures us, that in general the agents of the republic were more inaccessible, more insolent, corrupt and ignorant, than any employed under the old government. He demurred to paying Mad. de—a sum of money all in assignats a piece; and this famous patriot would readily have given me an hundred livres for a pound sterling,

We shall return to Peronne to-morrow, and I have availed myself of the hour between cards and supper, which is usually employed by the French in undressing, to scribble my remarks. In some families, I suppose, supping in dish-bille is an arrangement of economy, in others scarce; but I always think it has the air of preparation for a very solid meal; and, in effect, supping is not a mere ceremony with either sex in this country.

I learnt in conversation with M. de-, whose sons were at Famars when the camp was

Here used for the place where the public burials were trans-

ferred to a place—that is, with the Kings effigy; at this time greatly preferred to those since his death.

forced, forced, that the carnage was terrible, and that the loss of the French on this occasion amounted to several thousands. You will be informed of this much more accurately in England, but you will scarcely imagine that no official account was ever published here, and that in general the people are ignorant of the circumstance, and all the disasters attending it. In England, you have opposition papers that amply supply the omissions of the ministerial gazettes, and often dwell with much complacency on the losses and defeats of their country; here none will venture to publish the least event they suppose the government wish to keep concealed. I am told, a leading feature of republican governments is to be extremely jealous of the liberty of the press, and that of France is, in this respect, truly republican. Adieu.

Peronne, August;

JL Have often regretted, my dear brother, that my letters have for some time been rather intended to satisfy your curiosity than your affection. At this moment I feel differently, and I rejoice that the inquietude and danger of my situation will, probably, not come to your knowledge till I shall be no longer subject to them. I have been for several days unwell, and yet my body, valetudinarian as I am at best, is now the better part of me; for my mind has been so deranged by suspense and terror, that I expect to recover my health long before I shall be able to tranquillize my spirits.

On our return from Soissons I found, by the public prints, that a decree had passed for arming all natives of the countries with which France is at war, and who had not constantly resided there since eighty-nine. This intelligence, as you will conceive, sufficiently alarmed me, and I lost no time in consulting Mad. de's friends on the subject, who were generally of opinion that the decree was merely a menace, and that it was too unjust to be put in execution. As some days elapsed and no steps were taken in consequence, I began to think they were right, and my spirits were somewhat revived; when one evening, as I was preparing to go to bed, my maid suddenly entered the room, and, before she could give me any previous explanation, she, the apartment was

filled with armed men. As soon as I was collected enough to enquire the object of this unfeasonable visit I learned that all this military apparel was to put the seal on my papers, and convey my person to the Hotel de Ville!—I knew it would be vain to remonstrate, and therefore made an effort to recover my spirits and submit. The business, however, was not yet terminated, my papers were to be sealed—and though they were not very voluminous, the process was more difficult than you would imagine, none of the company having been employed on affairs of the kind before. A debate ensued on the manner in which it should be done, and, after a very tumultuous discussion, it was sagaciously concluded to seal up the doors and windows of all the apartments appropriated to my use. They then discovered that they had no seal fit for the purpose, and a new consultation was holden on the propriety of affixing a cypher which was offered them by one of the Garde Nationals.

This weighty matter being at length decided, the doors of my bedchamber, dressing-room, and of the apartments with which they communicated, were carefully fastened up, though not without an observation on my part that I was only a guest at Mad de-s, and that an order to seize my papers or person was not a mandate for rendering a part of her house useless. But there was no reasoning with ignorance and a score of bayonets,

bayonets, nor could I obtain permission even to take some linen out of my drawers. On going down stairs, I found the court and avenues to the garden amply guarded, and with this numerous escort, and accompanied by Mad. de—, I was conducted to : the Hotel de Ville. I know not what resistance they might expect from a single female, but, to judge by their precautions, they must have deemed the adventure a very perilous one. When we arrived at the Hotel de Ville, it was near eleven o'clock: the hall was crowded, and a young man., in a dirty linen jacket and trousers and dirty linen, with the air of a Pollack and the countenance of an affair, was haranguing with great vehemence against the English, who, he asserted, were all agents of Pitt, (especially the women,) and were to set fire to the corn and corrupt the garrisons of the fortified towns.—The people listened to these terrible projects with a stupid sort of surprise, and, for the most part, seemed either very careless or very incredulous. As soon as this inflammatory piece of eloquence was finished, I was presented to the ill-looking orator, who, I learned, was a representative du peuple. It was very easy to perceive that my spirits were quite overpowered, and that I could with difficulty support myself; but this did not prevent the representative du peuple from treating me with that inconsiderate brutality commonly the effect of a sudden accession of power on narrow and vulgar minds. After a variety of impertinent questions, menaces of a prison for myself, and exclamations of hatred and vengeance against my country, on producing some friends of Mad. de, who were to be answerable for me, I was released, and returned home more dead than alive.

You must not infer, from what I have related, that I was particularly distinguished on this occasion, for though I have no acquaintance with the English here, I understand they had all been treated much in the same manner.—As soon as the representative had left the town, by dint of solicitation we prevailed on the municipality to take the seal off the rooms, and content themselves with selecting and securing my papers, which was done yesterday by a commission, formally appointed for the purpose. I know not the quality

of the good citizens to whom this important charge was entrusted, but I concluded from their costume that they had been more usefully employed the preceeding part of the day at the anvil and laft. It is certain, however, they had undertaken a bufinefs greatly beyond their powers. They indeed turned over all my trunks and drawers, and dived to the bottom of water-jugs and flower-jars with great zeal, but neglected to fearch a large portfolio that lay on the table, probably from not knowing the ufe of it; and my fervant conveyed away fome letters, while I amufed them with the fight of a blue-bottle fly through a microfcope They were at firft much puzzled to know whether books and mufic were included under the aiticle of papers, and were very defirous of burning a hiftory of France, becaufe they difcovered, by the title-page, that it was "about Kings;" but the moft difficult part of this momentous tranfaction was taking an account of it in writing. However, as only one of the company could write, there was no difputing as to the fcribe, though there was much about the manner of execution. I did not fee the competition, but I could hear that it ftated "comme quoi." They had found the feals unbroken, "comme oz,"—they had taken them off, and divers as hows" of the fame kind. The whole concluded, and my papers depofited in a box, I was at length freed from my guefts, and put in poffeffion of my apartments.

VOL. I. Z It It is impoffible to account for this treatment of the Englifh by any mode of reaſoning that does not exclude both juſtice and policy; and viewing it only as a fymptom of that deſperate wickednefs which commits evil, not as a means, but an end, I am extremely alarmed for our ſituation. At this moment the whole of French politics feems to center in an endeavour to render the Englifh odious both as a nation and as individuals. The Convention, the clubs, and the ſtreets of Paris, refound with low abuſe of this tendency; and a motion was made in the former, by one Gamier, to procure the aflaſſination of Mr. Pitt. Couthon, a member of the Comiti de Salut Public, has propoſed and carried a decree to declare him the enemy of mankind; and the citizens of Paris are ftunned by the hawkers of Mr. Pitts plots with the Queen tojarve all France, and maffacre all the patriots.—Amidft ſo many efforts to provoke the deſtrudlion deſtruction of the Englifh, it is wonderful, when tare conſider the fanguinary character which the

When our repreſentative appeared at Abbeville with an intention of arreſting the Englifh, and other foreigners, the people, to whom theſe miſſionaries with unlimited powers were yet new, took the alarm, and became very apprehenſive that he was come likewiſe to difarm their Garde National: The ſtreets were crouded, the town-houſe was befet, and Citlzen Dumont found it neceſſary to quiet the towns people people by the following proclamation. One part of his purpoſe, that of enfuring his perſonal ſafety, was answered by it; but that of exciting the people againſt the Englifh, failed—ihfomuch, that I was told even the loweſt claſſes, ſo far from giving credit to the malignant calumnies propagated againſt ithe Englifh, openly regretted their arreſtation.

"CITIZENS,

"On my arrival amongſt you, I little thought that malevolence would be ſo far ſucceſſful as to alarm you on the motives of my viſit. Could the ariſtocrats, then, Aatter them ſelves with the hope of making you believe I had the intention of difarming you? Be deaf, I beſeech you, to To abfurſt a calumny, and feize on thoſe who propagate it. I

came here to fraternize with you, and to affit you in getting rid of thofe malcontents and foreigners, who are ftriving to deftroy the republic by the moft infernal manoeuvres.

An horrible plot has been conceived. Our harvefts are to be fired by means of phofphoric matches, and all the patriots aflaffinated. Women, priests, and foreigners, are the inftru-ments employed by the coajeced defpots, and by England above all, to accomplifh thefe criminal defigns.—A law of the firft of this month orders the arreftation of all foreigners born in the countries with which the republic is at war, and not fettled in France before the month of July, 1789. In execution of this law I have required domiciliary vifits to be made. I have urged the prefervation of the public tranquillity. I have therefore done my duty, and only what all good citizens muft approve."

2 French French people have lately evinced, that we are yet fafe, and it is in effect only to be accounted for by their difinclination to take any part in the animofities of their government.

I have juft received a few lines from Mrs.

D, written in French, and put in the poft without fealing. I perceive, by the contents, though fhe enters into no details, that circum-ftances fimilar to thofe I have defcribed have likewife taken place at Amiens. In addition to my other anxieties, I have the profpect of a long feparation from my friends; for though I am not in confinement, I cannot, while the decree which arrefted me remains in force, quit the town of P. I have not often looked forward with fo little hope, or fo little certainty, and though a firft-rate philofopher might make up his mind to a particular event, yet to be prepared for any thing, and all things, is a more difficult matter.

The great refources of French eloquence have long been the hiftories of Greece and Rome, and it is not till within a few days that an orator has difcovered all this good learning to be of no ufe—not, as you might imagine, becaufe the moral character and political fituation of the French differ from thofe of the Greeks and Romans, but becaufe they are fu-perior to all the people who ever exifted, and ought to be cited as models, inftead of de-fcending to become copyifts. "Therefore, continues this Jacobin fage, (whoſe name is Hen-riot, and who is highly popular,) let us burn all the libraries and all the antiquities and have no guide but ourſelves—let us cut off the heads of all the Deputies who have not voted according to our principles, banifh or imprifon all the gentry and the energy, and guillotine the Queen and General Cuftme!"

Theſe are the ufual fubjects of difcuſſion at the clubs, and the Convention itſelf is not much more decent. I tremble when I recollect that I am in a country where a member of the legiflature propoſes rewards for aflaffination, and the leader of a ſociety, that pretends to inform and inſtruct: the people, argues in favour of burning all the books. The French are on the eve of exhibiting the fingular ſpelacle of a nation enlightened by ſcience, accuſtomed to the benefit of laws and the enjoyment of arts, fuddenly becoming barbarous by fyſtem, and linking into ignorance from choice.—When the Goths fhared the moſt curious antiques by z 3 weight, weight, were they not more civilized than the Farifian of ninety-three, who diſturbs the afhes of Henry the Fourth, or deſtroys the monument of Turenne, by a decree?—I have myſelf been forced to an adl very much in the ſpirit of the times, but I could not, without rifking my own ſafety, do ptherwife; and I fat up late laſt night for the purpoſe of

burning Burke, which I had brought with me, but had fortunately so well concealed, that it escaped the late inquisition. I indeed made this sacrifice to prudence with great unwillingness—every day, by confirming Mr. Burkes assertions, or fulfilling his predictions, had so increased my reverence for the work, that I regarded it as a kind of political oracle. I did not, however destroy it without an apologetic apostrophe to the authors benevolence, which I am sure would suffer, were he to be the occasion, though involuntarily, of conducting a female to a prison or the Guillotine.

How chances mock, and changes fill the cup of alteration up with divers liquors."—On the same hearth, and in a mingled flame, was consumed the very constitution of eighty-nine, on which Mr. Burkes book was a censure, and which would now expose me to equal danger were it

it to be found in ones possession. In collecting the ashes of these two compositions, the tendency of which is so different, (for such is the complexion of the moment, that I would not have even the faintest suspect; I had been burning a quantity of papers,) I could not but moralize on the mutability of popular opinion. Mr. Burkes Gallic adversaries are now most of them proscribed and anathematized more than himself. Perhaps another year may see his bust erected on the pedestal which now supports that of Brutus or Le Pelletier,

The letters I have written to you since the communication was interrupted, with some other papers that I am solicitous to preserve, I have hitherto always carried about me, and I know not if any danger merely probable, will induce me to part with them. You will not, I think, suspect me of attaching any consequence to my scribbles from vanity; and if I run some personal risk in keeping them, it is because the situation of this country is so singular, and the events which occur almost daily so important, that the remarks of any one who is unlucky enough to be a spectator, may interest, without the advantage of literary talents.—Yours.

Peronn, August 34.

Have been out to-day for the first time since the arrest of the English, and though I have few acquaintance here, my adventure at the Hotel de Ville has gained me a sort of popularity. I was saluted by many people I did not know, and overwhelmed with expressions of regret for what had happened, or congratulations on my having escaped so well.

The French are not commonly very sensible to the sufferings of others, and it is some mortification to my vanity that I cannot, but at the expense of a reproaching conscience, ascribe the civilities I have experienced on this occasion to my personal merit. It would doubtless have been highly flattering to me to relate the tender and general interest I had excited even among this cold-hearted people, who scarcely feel for themselves; but the truth is, they are disposed to take the part of any one whom they think persecuted by their government, and their representative, Dumont, is so much despised in his private character, and detested in his public one, that it suffices to have been ill treated by him, to ensure one a considerable portion of the public good will.

∴ This

This disposition is not a little consolatory, at a time when the whole rage of an oligarchical tyranny, though impotent against the English as a nation, meanly exhausts

itself on the few helpless individuals within its power. Embarrassments accumulate—and if Mr. Pitt's agents did not most obligingly write letters, and the letters happen to be intercepted just when they are most necessary, the Comité de Salut Public would be at a loss how to account for them.

Assignats have fallen into a discredit beyond example, an hundred and thirty livres having been given for one Louis-dor; and, as if this were not the natural result of circumstances like the present, a correspondence between two Englishmen informs us, that it is the work of Mr. Pitt, who, with an unparalleled ingenuity, has contrived to send couriers to every town in France, to concert measures with the bankers for this purpose. But if we may believe Barrere, one of the members of the Committee, this atrocious policy of Mr. Pitt will not be unrevengeful, for another intercepted letter contains assurances that an hundred thousand men have taken up arms in England, and are preparing to march against the iniquitous metropolis that gives this obnoxious minister shelter.

My situation is still the same—I have no hope of returning to Amiens, and have just reason to be apprehensive for my tranquillity here. I had a long conversation this morning with two people whom Dumont has left here to keep the town in order during his absence. The subject was to prevail on them to give me a permission to leave Peronne, but I could not succeed. They were not, I believe, indisposed to gratify me, but were afraid of involving themselves. One of them expressed much partiality for the English, but was very vehement in his disapprobation of their form of government, which he said was (detestable) My cowardice did not permit me to argue much in its behalf, (for I look upon these people as more dangerous than the spies of the old police,) and I only ventured to observe, with great diffidence, that though the English government was monarchical, yet the power of the Crown was very much limited; and that as the chief subjects of our complaints at present were not our institutions, but certain practical errors, they might be remedied without any violent or radical changes; and that our nobility were neither numerous nor privileged, and by no means obnoxious to the majority of the people.—"Ah, -vous avez done ds la no-en Angleterre, cefont peut-tre les mitords"

exclaimed exclaimed our republican, and it operated on my whole system of defence like my uncle Tobys smoke-jack, for there was certainly no discussing the English constitution with a political critic, who I found was ignorant even of the existence of a third branch of it; yet this reformer of governments and abhorrer of Kings has powers delegated to him more extensive than those of an English Sovereign, though I doubt if he can write his own language; and his moral reputation is still less in his favour than his ignorance—for, previous to the revolution, he was known only as a kind of swindler, and has more than once been nearly convicted of forgery.—This is, however, the description of people now chiefly employed, for no honest man would accept of such commissions, nor perform the Services annexed to them,

Bread continues very scarce, and the populace of Paris are, as usual, very turbulent; so that the neighbouring departments are deprived of their subsistence to satisfy the wants of a metropolis that has no claim to an exemption from the general distress, but that which arises from the fears of the Convention. As far as I have opportunity of learning or observing, this part of France is in that state of tranquillity which

is not the effect of content but fupine-nefs; the people do not love their government, but they fubmit to it, and their utmoft exertions amount only to a little occaftional obftinacy, which a few dragoons always reduce to compliance. We are Ibmetimes alarmed by reports that parties of the enemy are approaching the town, when the gates are fhut, and the great bell is toll'd; but I do not perceive that the people are violently apprehenfive about the matter. Their fears are I believe, for the moft part, rather perfonal than political—they do not dread fubmiffion to the Auftrians, but mill, tary licentiousnefs.

I have been reading this afternoon Lord Orrerys definition of the male Cecifbeo, and it reminds me that I have not yet noticed to you a very important clafs of females in France, who may not improperly be denominated female Cecifbeos. Under the old fyftem, when the rank of a woman of fafhion had enabled her to preferve a degree of reputation and influence in fpite of the gallantries of her youth and the decline of her charms, fhe adopted the equivocal character I here allude to, and, relinquifhing the adorations claimed by "by beauty, and the refpect due to age, charitably devoted herfelf to the infruandion and advancement of fome young man of perfonal qualifications and uncertain fortune. She prefented him to the world, panegyricd him into fafhion, and infured his confequence with one fet of females, by hinting his fuccefles with another. By her exertions he was promoted in the army or diftinguifhed at the levee, and a career begun under fuch aufpices often terminated in a brilliant eftablifhment.—In the lefts elevated circle, a female Cecifbeo is ufually of a certain age, of an active difpofition, and great volubility, and her functions are more numerous and lefts dignified. Here the grand objects are not to befiege minifters, nor give a ton to the prottgi at a fafhionable ruelle but to obtain for him the folid-advantages of what fhe calls " un Ion parti. " To this end fhe frequents the houfes of widows and heireffes, vaunts the docility of his temper, and the greatnefs of his expectations, enlarges on the folitude of widowhood, or the dependence and insignificance of a fpinfter; and thefe prefatory encomiums ufually end in the concerted introduction of the Platonic " ami"

A good natch.

But

But betides thefe principal and important caresj a female Cecifbeo of the middling rank has various fubordinate ones—fuch as buying linen, choofing the colour of a coat, or the pattern of a waiftcoat, with all the minutiae of the favourites drefs, in which fhe is always eon-fulted at leaftj if fhe has not the whole direction.—It is not only in the firft or intermediate clafles that thefe useful females abound, they are equally common in more humble fituations, and only differ in their employments, not in their principles! A woman in France, whatever be her condition, cannot be perfuaded to refign her influence with her youth; and the Bourgeoife who has no pretentions to court favour or the difpofal of wealthy heireffes, attaches her eleve by knitting him ftockings, forcing him with Ions morceaux till he has an indigeftion, and frequent regales of coffee and fyueurt

You milft not conclude frdm all this that there is any gallantry implied Or any fcandal excited—the return for all thefe fervices is only a little flattery, a philofophic endurance of the card-table, and fome fkill in the diforders of lap-dogs. I know there are in England, as well as in France, many notable females of a certain age who delight

in what they call managing, managing, and who are zealous in promoting, matches among the young people of their acquaintance; but for one that you meet with in England there are fifty here.

I doubt much if, upon the whole, the morals of the English women are not superior to those of the French; but however the question may be decided as to morals, I believe their superiority in decency of manners is indisputable—and this superiority is, perhaps, more conspicuous in women of a certain age than in the younger part of the sex. We have a sort of national regard for propriety, which deters a female from lingering on the confines of gallantry, when age has warned her to withdraw; and an old woman that should take a passionate and exclusive interest about a young man not related to her, would become at least an object of ridicule, if not of censure:—and in France nothing is more common; every old woman appropriates some youthful dangle, and, what is extraordinary, his attentions are not distinguishable from those he would pay to a younger object.—I should remark, however, as some apology for these juvenile gallants, that there are very few of what we call Tabbies in France; that is, females of severe principle; and contracted features, in whose apparel every pin has its destination with mathematical exactness, who are the very watch-towers of a neighbourhood, and who give the alarm on the first appearance of incipient frailty. Here, antique dowagers and faded spinsters are all gay, laughing, rouged and indulgent—so that bating the substitution of teeth and addition of wrinkles, the disparity between one score and four is not so great:

"Gay rainbow filks their mellow charms enfold,

"Nought of these beauties but themselves is old."

I know if I venture to add a word in defence of Tabbyhood, I (shall be engaged in a war with. yourself and all our young acquaintance; yet in this age, which so liberally softens, and blends, and weakens, and dilutes away all distinctions, I own I am not without some partiality for strong lines of demarcation; and, perhaps, when fifty retrogrades into fifteen, it makes a worse confusion in society than the toe of the peasant treading on the heel of the courtier. But, adieu: I am not gay, though I trifle. I have learnt something by my residence in France, and can be, as you see, frivolous under circumstances that ought to make me grave Yours.

Peronne, August 29-.

JL THE political horizon of France threatens nothing but tempests. If we are still tranquil here, it is only because the storm is retarded, and, far from deeming ourselves secure from its violence, we suffer in apprehension almost as much as at other places is suffered in reality. An hundred and fifty people have been arrested at Amiens in one night, and numbers of the gentry in the neighbouring towns have shared the same fate. This measure, which I understand is general throughout the republic, has occasioned great alarms, and is beheld by the mass of the people themselves with regret. In some towns, the Bourgeois have presented petitions to the Representatives on mission in behalf of their gentry thus imprisoned: but, far from succeeding, all who have signed such petitions are menaced and intimidated, and the terror is so much increased, that I doubt if even this flight effort will be repeated any where.

The levee en masse, or rising in a body, which has been for some time decreed, has not yet taken place. There are very few, I believe, that comprehend it, and fewer who are disposed

Vol. i. A a to comply. Many consultations have been held!, many plans proposed, but as the result of all these consultations and plans is to send a certain number to the frontiers, the suffrages have never been unanimous except in giving their negative.—Like Falstaff's troops, every one has some good cause of exemption; and if you were to attend a meeting where this affair is discussed, you would conclude the French to be more physically miserable than any people on the globe. Youths, in apparent good health, have internal disorders, or concealed infirmities—some are near-sighted—others epileptic—one is nervous, and cannot present a musket—another is rheumatic, and cannot carry it. In short, according to their account, they are a collection of the lame, the halt, and the blind, and fitter to send to the hospital, than to take the field. But, in spite of all these disorders and incapacities, a considerable levy must be made, and the dragoons will, I dare say, operate very wonderful cures.

The surrender of Dunkirk to the English is regarded as inevitable. I am not politician enough to foresee the consequences of such an event, but the hopes and anxieties of all parties seem directed thither as if the fate of the war depended on it. As for my own wishes on the subject, they are not national, and if I secretly invoke the God of Armies for the success of my countrymen, it is because I think all that tends to destroy the present French government may be beneficial to mankind. Indeed, the successes of war can at no time gratify a thinking mind farther than as they tend to the establishment of peace.

After several days of a mockery which was called a trial, though the witness were afraid to appear, or the Counsel to plead in his favour, Cuftine has suffered at the Guillotine. I can be no judge of his military conduct, and Heaven alone can judge of his intentions. None of the charges were, however, substantiated, and many of them were absurd or frivolous. Most likely, he has been sacrificed to a cabal, and his destruction makes a part of that system of policy, which, by agitating the minds of the people with suspicions of universal treason and unfathomable plots, leaves them no resource but implicit submission to their popular leaders.

The death of Cuftine seems rather to have stimulated than appeased the barbarity of the

Parisian mob. At every defeat of their armies

A a a they call for executions, and several of those on whom the lot has fallen to march against the enemy have stipulated, at the tribunal of the Jacobins, for the heads they exact as a condition of their departure, or as the reward of their labours. The laurel has no attraction for heroes like these, who invest themselves with the baneful yew and insidious cypresses, and go to the field of honour with the dagger of the assassin yet enfanguined. " Fair steeds, gay shields, bright arms,—!" the fancy-created deity, the worship of fame, and all that poets have imagined to decorate the horrors of war, are not necessary to tempt the gross barbarity of the Parisian: he seeks not glory, but carnage—his incentive is the groans of defenceless victims—he enlists under the standard of the Guillotine, and acknowledges the executioner for his tutelary Mars.

In remarking the difficulties that have occurred in carrying into execution the *levée en masse*, I neglected to inform you that the-

Many insisted they would not depart until after the death of the Queen—some claimed the death of one General, some that of another, and all the lives or well-being of the gentry and clergy.

My friend.

prime mover of all these machinations is your omnipotent Mr. Pitt—it is he who has fomented the passions of the towns, and alarmed the timidity of the villages—he has persuaded some that it is not pleasant to leave their homes and families, and insinuated into the minds of others that death or wounds are not very desirable—he has, in fine, so effectually achieved his purpose, that the Convention issues decree after decree, the members harangue to little purpose, and the few recruits already levied, like those in the spring, go from many places strongly escorted to the army.—I wish I had more peaceful and more agreeable subjects for your amusement, but they do not present themselves, and "you must blame the times, not me." I would wish to tell you that the legislation is honest, that the Jacobins are humane, and the people patriots; but you know I have no talent for fiction, and if I had, my situation.

is not favourable to any effort of fancy.

Yours.

A a

Peronne, Sept. 7.

JL HE succeeds of the enemy on all sides, the rebellion at Lyons and Marseilles, with the increasing force of the insurgents in La Vendée, have revived our eagerness for news, and if the indifference of the French character exempt them from more patriotic sensations, it does not banish curiosity; yet an eventful crisis, which in England would draw people together, here keeps them apart. When an important piece of intelligence arrives, our provincial politicians shut themselves up with their gazettes, from society, and endeavour to avoid giving an opinion until they are certain of the strength of a party or the success of an attempt. In the present state of public affairs, you may therefore conceive we have very little communication—we express our sentiments more by looks and gestures than words, and Lavater (admitting his system) would be of more use to a stranger than Boyer or Chambaud. If the English take Dunkirk, perhaps we may be a little more social and more decided.

Mad. de has a most extensive acquaintance, and as we are situated on one of the roads from Paris to the northern army, notwithstanding the cautious policy of the moment, we are tolerably well informed of what passes in most parts of France; and I cannot but be astonished, when I combine all I hear, that the government is able to sustain itself. Want, discord, and rebellion, assail it within—defeats and losses from without. Perhaps the solution of this political problem can only be found in the selfishness of the French character, and the want of connection between the different departments. Thus one part of the country is subdued by means of another: the inhabitants of the South take up arms in defence of their freedom and their commerce, while those of the North refuse to countenance or assist them, and wait in selfish tranquillity till the same oppression is extended to themselves. The majority of the people have no point of union nor mode of communication, while the Jacobins, whose numbers are

comparatively insignificant, are strong, by means of their general correspondence, their common center at Paris, and the exclusive/direction of all the public prints. But, whatever are the causes, it is certain that the government is at once powerful and detested—almost without apparent support, yet difficult to overthrow; and the submission of Rome to a dotard and a boy can no longer excite the wonder of any one who reflects on; what passes in France,

After various decrees to effect the level en inaffe, the Convention have discovered that this sublime and undefined project was not calculated for the present exhausted state of martial ardour. They therefore no longer presume on any movement of enthusiasm, but have made 3. positive and specific requisition of all the male inhabitants of France between eighteen and twenty-five years of age. This, as might be expected, has been more effectual, because it interests those that are exempt to force the compliance of those who are not. Our young men here were like children with a medicine—they proposed first one form of taking this military potion, then another, and finding them all equally unpalatable, would not, but for a little salutary force, have decided at all.

A new law has been passed for arresting all the English who cannot produce two witnesses of their civisme, and those whose conduct is thus guaranteed are to receive tickets of hospitality, which they are to wear as a protection. This decree has not yet been carried into effect at Peronne, nor am I much disturbed about it.

Few

Few of our countrymen will find the matter very difficult to arrange, and I believe they have all a better protection in the disposition of the people towards them, than any that can be assured them by decrees of the Convention.

Sept. 11. The news of Lord Hood's taking possession of Toulon, which the government affected to discredit for some days, is now ascertained; and the Convention, in a paroxysm of rage, at once cowardly and unprincipled, has decreed that all the English not resident in France before 1789, shall be imprisoned as hostages, and be answerable with their lives for the conduct of their countrymen and of the Toulonjers towards Bayle and Beauvais, two Deputies, said to be detained in the town at the time of its surrender. My first emotions of terror and indignation have subsided, and I have, by packing up my clothes, disposing of my papers, and providing myself with money, prepared for the worst. My friends, indeed, persuade me, (as on a former occasion,) that the decree is too atrocious to be put in execution; but my apprehensions are founded on a principle not likely to deceive me—namely, that those who have prostituted themselves of the French government are capable of any thing. I live

in constant fear, watching all day and listening all night, and never go to bed but with the expectation of being awakened, nor rise without a presentiment of misfortune.—I have not spirits nor composure to write, and shall discontinue my letters until I am relieved from suspense, if not from uneasiness. I rifle much by pre-ferving these papers, and, perhaps, may never be able to add to them; but whatever I may be reserved for, while I have a hope they may reach, & you they shall not be destroyed.—I bid you adieu in a state of mind which the circumstances I am under will describe better than words. Yours.

Malton darrst, Arras, Oct. 15. DEAR BROTHER,

JL HE fears of a timid mind usually magnify expected evil, and anticipated suffering often diminishes the effect of an apprehended blow; yet my imagination had suggested less than I have experienced, nor do I find that a preparatory state of anxiety has rendered affliction more supportable. The last month of my life has been a compendium of misery; and my recollection, which on every other subject seems

to fail me, is on this but too faithful, and will enable me to relate events which will interest you not only as they personally concern me, but as they present a picture of the barbarity and despotism to which this whole country is subject, and to which many thousands besides myself were on the same instant victims.

A few evenings after I concluded my last, the firing of cannon and ringing the great bell announced the arrival of Dumont (still Representative on mission in our department). The town was immediately in alarm, all the gates were shut, and the avenues leading to the ramparts guarded by dragoons. Our house being in a distant and unfrequented street, before we could learn the cause of all this confusion, a party of the national guard, with a municipal officer at their head, arrived, to escort Mad de and myself to a church, where the Representative was then examining the prisoners brought before him. Almost as much astonished as terrified, we endeavoured to procure some information of our conductors, as to what was to be the result of this measure; but they knew nothing, and it was easy to perceive they thought the office they were executing an unpleasant one. The streets we passed were crowded with people, people, whose silent confirmation and dismayed countenances increased our forebodings, and depressed the little courage we had yet preserved. The church at our arrival was nearly empty, and Dumont preparing to depart, when the municipal officer introduced us to him. As soon as he learned that Mad. de was the sister of an emigrant, and myself a native of England, he told us we were to pass the night in a church appointed for the purpose, and that on the morrow we should be conveyed to Arras. For a moment all my faculties became suspended, and it was only by an effort almost convulsive that I was able to ask how long it was probable we should be deprived of our liberty. He said he did not know—"but that the raising of the siege of Dunkirk, and the loss of six thousand troops which the French had taken prisoners, would doubtless produce an insurrection in England, procure a peace, and our release from captivity"

You may be assured I felt no desire of freedom on such terms, and should have heard this ignorant and malicious suggestion only with contempt, had not the implication it conveyed that our detention would not terminate but with the war overwhelmed every other idea. Mad. de then petitioned that we might, on account of our health, (for we were both really unwell,) be permitted to go home for the night, accompanied by guards if it were thought necessary. But the Representative was inexorable, and in a brutal and despotic tone ordered us away.—When we reached the church, which was to be our prison till morning, we found about an hundred and fifty people, chiefly old men, women, and children, dispersed in melancholy groups, lamenting their situation, and imparting their fears to each other. The gloom of the building was increased by the darkness of the night; and the noise of the guard, many of whom were intoxicated, the odour of tobacco, and the heat of the place, rendered our situation almost insupportable. We soon discovered several of our acquaintance, but this association in distress was far from consolatory, and we passed the time in wandering about together, and consulting

upon what would be of most use to us in our confinement. We had, indeed, little to hope for from the morrow, yet the hours dragged on heavily, and I know not if ever I beheld the return of light with more pleasure. I was not without apprehension for our personal safety. I recollected the massacres in churches at Paris, and the frequent proportions that had been made to exterminate the gentry and clergy.

Mad. de has since confessed, that she had the same ideas;

Morning at length came, and our servants were permitted to enter with breakfast. They appeared sorrowful and terror-stricken, but offered with great willingness to accompany us whithersoever we should be sent. After a melancholy sort of discussion, it was decided that we should take our femmes de chambres, and that the others should remain for the safety of the house, and to send us what we might have occasion for. This settled, they returned with such directions as we were able to give them, (God knows, not-very coherent ones,) to prepare for our journey; and as our orders, however confused, were not very voluminous, they were soon executed, and before noon every thing was in readiness for our departure. The people employed by our companions were equally diligent, and we might very well have set out by one o'clock, had our case been at all considered; but, I know not why, instead of so providing that we might reach our destination in the course of the day, it seemed to have been purposely contrived that we should be all night on the road, though we had already passed passed one night without rest, and were exhausted by watching and fatigue.

In this uncertain and unpleasant state we waited till near six o'clock; a number of small covered waggons were then brought, accompanied by a detachment of dragoons, who were to be our escort. Some time elapsed, as you may suppose, before we could be all settled in the carriages and such a cavalcade put in motion; but the concourse of people that filled the streets, the appearance of the troops, and the tumult occasioned by so many horses and carriages, overpowered my spirits, and I remember little of what passed till I found we were on the road to Arras. Mad. de's maid now informed us that Dumont had arrived the evening before in extreme ill humour, summoned the municipality in haste, enquired how many people they had arrested, and what denunciations they had yet to make. The whole body corporate trembled, they had arrested no one, and, still worse, they had no one to accuse; and could only alledge in their behalf that the town was in the utmost tranquillity, and the people were so well disposed, that all violence was unnecessary. The Representative became

came furious, vociferated, (tout grognerement and la France,) that he knew there were five thousand aristocrats in Peronne, and that if he had not at least five hundred brought him before morning, he would declare the town in a state of rebellion. Alarmed by this menace, they began to arrest with all possible speed, and were more solicitous to procure their number than to make discriminations. Their diligence, however, was inadequate to appease the choleric legislator, and the Mayor, municipal officers, and all the administrators of the district, were in the morning sent to the Castle, whence they are to be conveyed, with some of their own prisoners, to Amiens.

Besides this intelligence, we learned that before our servants had finished packing up our trunks, some Commissioners of the section arrived to put the seals on every thing belonging to us, and it was not without much altercation that they consented to our being frequently furnished with necessities—that they had not only sealed up all

the house, but had placed a guard there, whom Mad. de is to pay, at the rate of two shillings a day.

In the vulgar French manner/

We were too large a body to travel fast, and by the time we reached Bapaume (though only fifteen miles) it was after twelve; it rained dreadfully, the night was extremely dark, the roads were bad, and the horses tired; so that the officer who conducted us thought it would be difficult to proceed before morning. We were therefore once more crowded into a church, in our wet clothes, (for the covering of the waggon was not thick enough to exclude the rain,) a few bundles of damp straw were distributed, and we were then shut up to repose as well as we could. All my melancholy apprehensions of the preceding night returned with accumulated force, especially as we were now in a place where we were unknown, and were guarded by some of the newly-raised dragoons, of whom we all entertained very unfavourable suspicions. We did not, as you may well imagine, attempt to sleep—a bed of wet straw laid on the pavement of a church filthy, as most French churches are, and the fear of being assassinated, resisted every effort of nature herself, and we were very glad when at the break of day we were summoned to continue our journey. About eleven we entered Arras: the streets were filled by idle people, apprized of our arrival; but no one offered us any insult, except some foldiers, (I believe, by

Vol. i. B b their their uniform, refugees from the Netherlands,) who cried, " a la Guillotine I—a la Guillotined

The place to which we were ordered had been the house of an emigrant, now converted into an house of detention, and which, though large, was excessively full. The keeper, on our being delivered to him, declared he had no room for us, and we remained with our baggage in the court-yard some hours before he had, by dis-lodging and compressing the other inhabitants, contrived to place us. At last, when we were half dead with cold and fatigue, we were shown to our quarters. Those allotted for my friend, myself, and our servants, was the corner of a garret without a ceiling, cold enough in itself, but rendered much warmer than was desirable by the effluvia of a score of living bodies, who did not seem to think the unpleasantness of their situation at all increased by dirt and offensive smells. Weary as we were, it was impossible to attempt reposing until a purification had been effected: we therefore set ourselves to sprinkling vinegar and burning perfumes; and it was curious to observe that the people, (s gens comme il faut,) whom we found inhaling the atmosphere of a Caffarian hut, declared their nerves were incommoded by the effluence of roses and virgine de quatre voleurs. As a part of the room was

People of fashion.

occupied occupied by men, our next business was to separate our corner by a curtain, which we had fortunately brought with our bedding; and this done, we spread our mattresses and lay down, while the servants were employed in getting us tea. As soon as we were a little refreshed, and the room was quiet for the night, we made up our beds as well as we could, and endeavoured to sleep. Mad. de and the two maids soon forgot their cares; but, though worn out by fatigue, the agitation of my mind conquered the disposition of my body. I seemed to have lost the very faculty of sleeping, and passed this night with almost as little repose as the two preceding ones

Before morning I discovered that remaining so long in damp clothes, and the other circumstances of our journey, had given me cold, and that I had all the symptoms of a violent fever.—I leave you to conjecture, for it would be impossible to detail, all the misery of illnesses in such a situation; and I will only add, that by the care of Mad. de—, whose health was happily less affected, and the attention of my maid, I was able to leave the room in about three weeks.—I must now defer this for some days, but will hereafter resume my little narrative, and explain how I have ventured to write so much even in the very neighbourhood of the Guillotine.—Adieu.

b a Ok

Maifon darret, Arras, Oand. 17.

CJ N the night I concluded my last, a report that Commissioners were to visit the house on the morrow obliged me to dispose of my papers beyond the possibility of their being found. The alarm is now over, and I proceed.—After something more than three weeks indisposition, I began to walk in the yard, and make acquaintance with our fellow-prisoners. Mad. de—had already discovered several that were known to her, and I now found, with much regret, that many of my Arras friends were here also. Having been arrested some days before us, they were rather more conveniently lodged, and taking the wretchedness of our garret into consideration, it was agreed that Mad. de—should move to a room less crowded than our own, and a dark closet that would just contain my mattresses was resigned to me. It is indeed a very sorry apartment, but as it promises me a refuge where I may sometimes read or write in peace, I have taken possession of it very thankfully. A lock on the door is not the least of its recommendations, and by way of securing myself against all surprise, I have contrived an additional fastening by means of a large nail and the chain of a portmanteau—I have like-wise, under pretext of keeping out the wind, papered papered over the cracks of the door, and provided myself with a sand-bag, so that no one can perceive when I have a light later than usual.—With these precautions, I can amuse myself by putting on paper any little occurrences that I think worth preserving, without much danger, and perhaps the details of a situation so new and so strange may not be uninteresting to you.

We are now about three hundred in number of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions—*ci-devant* nobles, parents, wives, sisters, and other relations of emigrants—priests who have not taken the oaths, merchants and shopkeepers accused of monopoly, nuns, farmers that are said to have concealed their corn, miserable women with scarcely clothes to cover them for not going to the constitutional mass, and many only because they happened to be at an inn or on a visit from their own town, when a general arrest took place of all who are what is called *étrangers*, that is to say, not foreigners only, but not inhabitants of the town where they are found.—There are, besides, various descriptions of people sent here on secret informations, and who do not themselves know the precise reason of their confinement. I must imagine we are subject to nearly the same rules as the common prisoners: no one is permitted to enter or speak to a *detenu* but at the gate, and in presence of the guard; and all letters, parcels, baskets, andc. are examined previous to their being either conveyed from hence or received. This, however, depends much on the political principles of those who happen to be on guard: an aristocrat or a constitutionalist will read a letter with his eyes half shut,

and inspect bedding and trunks in a very summary way; while a thorough-paced republican spells every syllable of the longest epistle, and opens all the roasted pigs or duck pies before he allows their ingress.—None of the servants are suffered to go out, so that those who have not friends in the town to procure them necessaries are obliged to depend entirely on the keeper, and of course pay extravagantly dear for every thing; but we are so much in the power of these people, that it is prudent to submit to such impositions without murmuring.

I did not, during my illness, read the papers, and have to-day been amusing myself with a large packet. General Houchard, I find, is arrested, for not having, as they say he might have done, driven all the English army into the sea, after raising the siege of Dunkirk; yet a few weeks ago their utmost hopes scarcely amounted to, the relief of the town: but their fears having subsided, they have now leisure to be jealous; and I know no situation so little to be envied under the present government as that of a successful General.—Among all their important avocations, the Convention have found time to pass a decree for obliging women to wear the national cockade, under pain of imprisonment; and the municipality of the superb Paris have ordered that the Kings family shall, in future, use pewter spoons and eat brown bread.

Oct. 18. I begin to be very uneasy about

Mr. and Mrs. D. I have written several times, and Hill receive no answer. I fear they are in a confinement more severe than my own, or that our letters miscarry. A servant of Mad. de S was here this morning, and no letters had come to Peronne, unless, as my friend endeavours to persuade me, the man would not venture to give them in presence of the guard, who par excellence happened to be a furious Jacobin.—We had the mortification of hearing that a very elegant carriage of Mad.

de S has been put in requisition, and taken

Barbette to convey a tinman and two farmers who were going to Paris on a mission—that two of her farmers best horses had been killed by hard frock in taking provisions to the army, and that they are now cutting down the young Wood on her estate to make pikes.—The seals are still on our effects, and the guard remains in possession, which has occasioned us the expense of buying a variety of articles we could not well dispense with: for, on examining the baggage after our arrival, we found it very much diminished; and this has happened to almost all the people who have been arrested. Our suspicions naturally fall on the dragoon?, and it is not very surprising that they should attempt to steal from those whom they are certain would not dare to make any complaint.

Many of our fellow-prisoners are embarrassed by their servants having quitted them.—One Collot d'Herbois, a member of the Comité de Saint Public, has proposed to the Convention to collect all the gentry, priests, and suspected people, into different buildings, which should be previously mined for the purpose, on the least appearance of insurrection, and blow them up all together.—You may perhaps conclude, that such a project was received with horror, and and the adviser of it treated as a monster. Our humane legislature, however, very coolly sent it to the committee to be discussed, without any regard to the terror and apprehension which the bare idea of a similar proposal must inspire in those who are the destined victims. I cannot myself believe that this abominable scheme is intended for execution, but it has nevertheless treated

much alarm in timid minds, and has occasioned in part the defection of the servants I have just mentioned. Those who were foolishly attached to their masters and mistresses to endure the Confinement and privations of at Mitifoh TArr-st, tremble at the thoughts of being involved in the common ruin of a gunpowder explosion; and the men seem to have less courage than the women, at least more of the latter have consented to remain here.—It was atrocious to publish such a conception, though nothing perhaps was intended by it, as it may deprive many people of faithful attendants at a time when they are most necessary.

We have a tribunal revolutionnaire here, with its usual attendant the Guillotine, and executions are now become very frequent. I know not who are the sufferers, and avoid enquiring through through fear of hearing the name of some acquaintance. As far as I can learn, the trials are but too summary, and little other evidence is required than the fortune, rank, and connections of the accused. The Deputy who is Commissioner for this department is one Le Bon, formerly a priest—and, I understand, of an immoral and sanguinary character, and that it is he who chiefly directs the verdicts of the juries according to his personal hatred or his personal interest.—We have lately had a very melancholy instance of the terror created by this tribunal, as well as of the notions that prevail of its justice. A gentleman of Calais, who had an employ under the government, was accused of some irregularity in his accounts, and, in consequence, put under arrest. The affair became serious, and he was ordered to prison, as preliminary to his trial. When the officers entered his apartment to take him, regarding the judicial procedure as a mere form, and concluding it was determined to sacrifice him, he in a frenzy of despair seized the dogs in the chimney, threw them at the people, and, while they escaped to call for assistance, destroyed himself by cutting his arteries.—It has appeared since the death of this unfortunate man, that the charge against him was groundless, and that he only wanted time to arrange his papers, in order to exonerate himself entirely.

Oct. 19. We are disturbed almost nightly by the arrival of fresh prisoners, and my first question of a morning is always "N'est il pas du monde entre la nuit?" Angeliques usual reply is a groan, and "Ah, mon Dieu, oui;"—Une dizaine de prestres—"or, "Une trentaine de nobles."—and I observe the depth of the groan is nearly in proportion to the quality of the person she commiserates. Thus, a groan for a Comte, a Marquise, or a Priest, is much more audible than one for a simple gentlewoman or a merchant; and the arrival of a Bishop (especially if not one of the constitutional clergy) is announced in a more sorrowful key than either.

While I was walking in the yard this morning, I was accosted by a female whom I immediately recollected to be Vicloire, a very pretty couturiere, who used to work for me when I was at Panthemont, and who made your last holland shirts. I was not a little surprized to see her in such a situation, and took her aside to enquire her history. I found that her mo-

Sempstresse.

ther was dead, and that her brother having set up a little shop at St. Omer, had engaged her to go and live with him. Being under five-and-twenty, the last requisition obliged him to depart for the army, and leave her to carry on the business alone. Three

weeks after, she was arrested at midnight, put into a cart, and brought hither. She had no time to take any precautions, and their little commerce, which was it

haberdashery, as well as some work she had in hand, is abandoned to the mercy of the people that arrested her. She has reason to suppose her crime is not having frequented the constitutional masks.—Her accuser is a member of one of the town committees, who, since her brother's absence, has persecuted her with dishonourable proposals, and, having been repulsed, has taken this method of revenging himself. Her conjecture is most probably right, as, since her imprisonment, this man has been endeavouring to make a sort of barter with her for her release. I am really concerned for this poor creature, who is at present a very good girl, but if she remain here she will not only be deprived of her means of living, but perhaps her morals may be irremediably corrupted. She is now lodged in a room with ten or dozen men, and the house is

so crowded that I doubt whether I have interest enough to procure her a more decent apartment.

What can this strange policy tend to, that thus exposes to ruin and want a girl of one-and-twenty—not for any open violation of the law, but merely for her religious opinions; and this, too, in a country which professes toleration as the basis of its government?

My friend, Mad. de, suffers terribly: she is not incapable of amusing herself, but is here deprived of the means. We have no corner we can call our own to sit in, and no retreat when we wish to be out of a crowd except my closet, where one can only see by candle-light. Besides, she regrets her employments, and prospects for the winter. She had begun painting a St. Theresa, and translating an Italian romance, and had nearly completed the education of a dozen canary birds, who would in a month's time have accompanied the harp so delightfully,—as to overpower the sound of the instrument. I believe if we had a few more square inches of room she would be tempted, if not to bring the whole chorus, at least to console herself with two particular favourites, distinguished by curious topknots, and rings about

about their necks.—With all these feminine propensities, she is very amiable, and her case is indeed singularly cruel and unjust.—Left, at an early age, under the care of her brother, she was placed by him at Panthemont (where I first became acquainted with her) with an intention of having her persuaded to take the veil; but finding heraverse from a cloister, she remained as a pensioner only, till a very advantageous marriage with the Marquis de, who was old enough to be her father, procured her release. About two years ago he died, and left her a very considerable fortune, which the revolution has reduced nearly to one third of its former value.—The Comte de, her brother, was one of the original patriots, and embraced with great warmth the cause of the people; but having very narrowly escaped the massacres of September, 1792, he immediately after emigrated.—Thus my poor friend, immured by her brother till the age of twenty-two in a convent, then sacrificed three years to a huf band of a disagreeable temper and unfavourable age, is now deprived of the first liberty she ever enjoyed, and is made answerable for the conduct of a man over whom she has no sort of influence. It is not, therefore, extraordinary that she cannot reconcile herself to her present situation, and I am really often more concerned on her account than my own. Cut off from her usual resources, she has no amusement but wandering about

Rouiieltcs Conjiderations fur In Mafjtie de Per-,
Memoirs de Richelieu.

The author of the above Memoirs adds, that after the taking of the Baftille new attempts were made to propagate this opinion, and that he himfelf had refuted it with many people, by producing original letters atld papers, fufficiently dembh-Jlrative of its abfurdity.

Vol. r. C c The

The affair of the necklace wa of infinite difervice to the Queens reputation; yet it is remarkable, that the moft furious of the Jacobins are filent on this head as far as it regarded her, and always mention the Cardinal de Rohan in terms that fuppofe him the culpable party: but, " whatever her faults, her woes deferve compaffion;" and perhaps the moralift, who is not too fevere, may find fome excufe for a Princefs, who, at the age of fixteen, poffibly without one real friend or difinterefted advifer, became the unretrained idol of the moft licentious Court in Europe. Even her enemies do not pretend that her fate was fo much a merited punifhment as a political meafure: they alledge, that while her life was yet fpared, the valour of their troops was checked by the poffibility of negociation; and that being no more, neither the people nor armies expecling any thing but execration or revenge, they will be more ready to proceed to the moft desperate extremities.—This you will think a barbarous fort of policy, and confidering it as national, it appears no lefs abfurd than barbarous; but for the Convention, whofe views perhaps extend little farther than to faving their heads, peculating, and receiving their eighteen livres a day, fuch meafures, and fuch fuch a principle of action, are neither unwife nor unaccountable: " for the wifdom of civilized nations is not their wifdom, nor the ways of civilized people their ways."—It was reported that the Queen was offered her life, and the liberty to retire to St. Cloud, her favourite refidence, if fhe would engage the enemy to raife the fiege of Maubeuge and withdraw; but that lhe refused to interfere.

I have been informed, by a gentleman who faw the Queen pafs in her way to execution, that the fhort white bed-gown and the cap fhe had on were difcoloured by fmoke, and that her whole appearance feemed to have been intended, if poffible, to degrade her in the eyes of the multitude.—The benevolent mind will recollect with pleafure, that even the Queens enemies allow her a fortitude and energy of character which muft have counteracted this paltry malice, and rendered it incapable of producing any emotion but contempt. On her firft being removed to the Conciergerie, fhe applied for fome neceffaries; but the humane municipality of Paris refused them, under pretext that the demand was contrary to the fyftem of " lafalnte egaiitet"—holy equality.

e c a

Arras

Jr OR fome days previous to the battle by which Maubeuge was relieved, we had very gloomy apprehenfions, and had the French army been unfuccefsful and forced to fall back, it is not improbable but the lives of thofe detained in the Matfon darrst might have been facrificed under pretext of appeafing the people, and to give fome credit to the fufpicions fo in-duftrioufly inculcated that all their defeats are occafioned by internal enemies. My firft care, as foon as I was able to go down ftairs, was to

examine if the house offered any means of escape in case of danger, and I believe, if we could preserve our recollection, it might be practicable; but I can so little depend on my strength and spirits, should such a necessity occur, that perhaps the consolation of knowing I have a resource is the only benefit I should ever derive from it.

Oct. 21. I have this day made a discovery of a very unpleasant nature, which Mad. de has hitherto cautiously concealed from me.—All the English, and other foreigners in their

House of detention.

circumstances,

circumstances, are now, without exception, arrested, and the confiscation of their property is decreed. It is uncertain if the law is to extend to wearing apparel, but I find that on this ground the Committee of Peronne persist in refusing to take the seals off my effects, or to permit my being supplied with any necessaries whatever. In other places, they have put two, four, and, I am told, even to the number of six guards, in houses belonging to the English; and these guards, exclusive of being paid each two Shillings per day, burn the wood, regale on the wine, and pillage in detail all they can find, while the unfortunate owner is starving in a Maifon (Farrfo, and cannot obtain permission to withdraw a single article for his own use.—The plea for this paltry measure is, that, according to the report of a deserter escaped from Toulon, Lord Hood has hanged one Beauvais, a member of the Convention. I have no doubt but the report is false, and, most likely, fabricated by the Comite de Salut Public, in order to palliate an act of injustice previously meditated.

It is needless to expatiate on the atrocity of making individuals, living here under the faith of the nation, responsible for the events of the war, and it is whispered that even the people c c 3 are a little ashamed of it; yet the government are not satisfied with making us accountable for what really does happen, but they attribute acts of cruelty to our countrymen, in order to excuse those they commit themselves, and retaliate imagined injuries by substantial vengeance.—Legendre, a member of the Convention, has proposed, with a most benevolent ingenuity, that the manes of the aforefaid Beauvais should be appeased by exhibiting Mr. Luttrell in an iron cage for a convenient time, and then hanging him. A gentleman from Amiens, lately arrested while happening to be here on business, informs me, that Mr. Luttrell is now in the common gaol of that place, lodged with three other persons, in a miserable apartment, so small, that there is not room to pass between their beds. I understand he was advised to petition Dumont for his removal to a Maifon ttArrandt, where he would have more external-convenience; but he rejected this counsel, no doubt from a disdain which did him honour, and preferred to suffer all that the mean malice of these wretches would inflict, rather than ask any accommodation as a favour.—The distinguisht Mr. Luttrell from any other English gentleman is as much a proof of ignorance as of baseness; but in this, as in every thing else, the present French government is still more wicked than absurd, and our ridicule is superfluous by our detestation.

Oct. 22. Mad. de s bonne d'affaires has been here to day, but no news from Amiens. I know not what to conjecture. My patience is almost exhausted, and my spirits are fatigued. Were I not just now relieved by a distant prospect of some change for the better, my situation would be insupportable. " Oh world! oh world! but that

thy frange mutations make us wait thee, life would not yield to age." We should die before our time, even of moral diseases, unaided by physical ones; but the uncertainty of human events, which is the "worm in the bud" of happiness, is to the miserable a cheering and consolatory reflection. Thus have I dragged on for some weeks, postponing, as it were, my existence, without any resource, save the homely philosophy of " nous verrons demain."

At length our hopes and expectations are become less general, and if we do not obtain our liberty, we may be able at least to procure

"We shall see to-morrow."

cc 4 a more a. more eligible person. I confess, the source of our hopes, and the protean one we have found, are not of a dignity to be ushered to your notice by citations of blank verse, or scraps of sentiment; for though the top of the ladder is not quite so high, the first rounds are as low as that of Ben Bowlings.

Mad. de s confidential servant, who came here to-day, has learned, by accident, that a man, who formerly worked with the Marquis's tailor, having (in consequence, I suppose, of a political vocation,) quitted the felling of old clothes, in which he had acquired some eminence, has become a leading patriot, and is one of Le Bon, the representatives, privy counsellors. Fleury has renewed his acquaintance with this man, has consulted him upon our situation, and obtained a promise that he will use his interest with Le Bon in our behalf. Under this splendid patronage, it is not unlikely but we may get an order to be transferred to Amiens, or, perhaps, procure our entire liberation. We have already written to Le Bon on the subject, and Fleury is to have a conference with our friend the tailor in a few days to learn the success of his mediation; so that, I trust, the business will not be long in suspension. —We have had a most indulgent guard to-day, who, by suffering the servant to enter a few paces within the gate, afforded us an opportunity of hearing this agreeable intelligence; as also, by way of episode, that boots being wanted for the cavalry, all the boots in the town were last night put in requisition, and as Fleury was unluckily gone to bed before the search was made at his inn, he found himself this morning very unceremoniously left bootless. He was once a famous patriot, and the oracle of Mad. de s household; but our confinement had already shaken his principles, and this seizure of his superb English boots" has, I believe, completed his defection.

Oct. 25. I have discontinued my journal for three days to attend my friend, Mad. de, who has been ill. Uneasiness, and want of air and exercise, had brought on a little fever, which, by the usual mode of treatment in this country, has been considerably increased. Her disorder did not indeed much alarm me, but I cannot say as much of her medical assistants, and it seems to me to be almost supernatural that she has escaped the jeopardy of their prescriptions. In my own illness I had muted to justice, and my recollection of what had been ordered ordered me on similar occasions; but for Mad.

de I was less confident, and desirous of having better advice, begged a physician might be immediately sent for. Had her disorder been an apoplexy, she must infallibly have died, for as no person, not even the faculty, can enter, without an order from the municipal Divan, half a day elapsed before this order could be procured. At length the physician and surgeon arrived, and I know not why the learned professions should impose on us more by one exterior than another; but I own, when I saw the physician

appear in a white camblet coat, lined with rofe colour, and the furgeon with dirty linen, and a gold button and loop to his hat, I began to tremble for my friend. My feminine prejudices did not, however, in this instance, deceive me. After the ufual queftions, the patient was declared in a fever, and condemned to cathartics, bleeding, and "ban bouillons;" that is to fay, greafy beef foup, in which there is never an ceconomy of onions.—When they were departed, I could not help expreffing my furprize that peoples lives fhould be entrusted. to fuch hands, obferving. at the fame time, to the Baron de L, (who is lodged in the fame apartment with Mad. de,) that the

French muft never. expect men, whofe educa tion fitted them for the profeffion, would become phyficians, while they continued to be paid at the rate of twenty pence per vifit. Yet, replied the Baron, if they make twenty vifits a day, they gain forty livres—"et ceft de quoi vivre." It is undeniably de quoi vivre, but as long as a mere lubfiftence is the only profpect of a phyfician, the French muft be content to have their fevers cured by "draftles pmebotomy, and beeffottp."

They tell me we have now more than five hundred detenus in this fingle houfe. How fo many have been wedged in I can fcarcely conceive, but it feems our keeper has the art of calculating with great nicety the fpace requifite for a given number of bodies, and their being able to refpire freely is not his affair. Thofe who can afford it have their dinners, with all the appurtenances, brought from the inns or traiteurs; and the poor cook, fleep, and eat, by fcores, in the fame room. I have perfuaded my friend to fup as I do, upon tea; but our affociates, for the moft part, finding it inconvenient to have fuppers brought at night, and being unwilling to fubmit to the fame priva- It is a living.

tions, tions, regale themfelves with the remains of their dinner, re-cooked in their only apartments, and thus go to fleep, amidft the fumes of perdrix a Voniony ceufs a la tripet and all the produce of a French kitchen.

It is not, as you may imagine, the Bourgeois, and lefs diftinguifhed prifoners only, who indulge in thefe highly-feafoned repasts at the expence of inhaling the favoury atmofphere they leave behind them: the beaux and petites maitrefles, among the ci-devant, have not lefs exigent appetites, nor more delicate nerves; and the ragout is produced at night, in fpite of the odours and diforder that remain till the morrow.

I conclude, notwithstanding your Englifh prejudices, that there is nothing unwholefome in filth, for if it were otherwife, I cannot account for our being alive. Five hundred bodies, in a Hate of coacervation, without even a preference for cleanliness, "think of that Mafter Brook." All the forenoon the court is a receptacle for cabbage-leaves, fifh-fcales, leeks, andc. andc.—and as a French chambermaid ufually prefers the direct road to circumambu-Jatioo, the refufe of the kitchen is then wafhed away away by plentiful inundations from the dref-fing-room—the paffages are blockaded by foul plates, fragments, and bones; to which if you add the fmell exhaling from hoarded apples and gruyere cheefe, you may form fome notion of the fufferings of thofe whofe olfactory nerves are not robuft. Yet this is not all—nearly every female in the houfe, except myfelf, is accompanied even here by her lap-dog, who fleeps in her room, and, not unfrequently, on her bed; and thefe Lefbias and Lindamiras increafe the infalubrity of the air. and colonize ones flock-ings by fending forth daily emigrations of fleas. For my own part, a few clofe November days will make me as captious and fplenetic

as Matthew Bramble himself. Nothing keeps me in tolerable good humour at present, but a clear frosty morning, or a high wind.

Oct. 27. I thought, when I wrote the above, that the house was really so full as to be incapable of containing more; but I did not do justice to the talents of our keeper. The last two nights has brought us an addition of several waggon loads of nuns, farmers, shopkeepers, andc. from the neighbouring towns, which he has still contrived to lodge, though much in the way that he would pack goods, in bales. Should another convoy arrive, it is certain that we must sleep perpendicularly, for even now, when the beds are all arranged and occupied for the night, no one can make a diagonal movement without disturbing his neighbour.—This very sociable manner of sleeping is very far, I assure you, from promoting the harmony of the day; and I am frequently witness to the reproaches and recriminations occasioned by nocturnal misdemeanours. Sometimes the lap-dog of one dowager is accused of hostilities against that of another, and thereby producing a general chorus of the rest—then a four-footed favourite strays from the bed of his mistress, and takes possession of a General's uniform—and there are female fopnamblers, who alarm the modesty of a pair of Bishops, and suspended officers, that, like Richard, warring in their dreams, cry "to arms," to the great annoyance of those who are more inclined to sleep in peace. But, I understand, the great disturbers of the room where Mad. de sleeps are two chanoines, whose noses are so fonorous and so untuneable as to produce a sort of duet absolutely incompatible with sleep; and one of the company is often deputed to interrupt the ferenade by manual application (*mais tout en badinant et avec politesse*) to the offending parties.

All this, my dear Brother, is only ludicrous in the relation; yet for so many people to be thus huddled together without distinction of age, sex, or condition, is truly miserable.—

Mad. de is still indisposed, and while she is thus furnished by bad air, and distracted by the various noises of the house, I see no prospect of her recovery.

Arras is the common prison of the department, and, besides this, there are a number of other houses and convents in the town appropriated to the same use, and all equally full. God knows when these iniquities are to terminate! So far from having any hopes at present, the rage for arresting seems, I think, rather to increase than subside. It is supposed there are now more than three hundred thousand people in France confined under the simple imputation of being what is called "genssuspectes." but as this generic term is new to you, I will, by way of explanation, particularize the several species as classified by the Convention, and then

. But all in placantry, and with politeness.
described

400 described by Chaumette, solicitor for the city of Paris; and it must be allowed by all who reside

Decree concerning suspected people;

"Art. I. Immediately after the promulgation of the present decree, all suspected persons that are found on the territory of the republic, and who are still at large, Shall be put under arrest.

"II. Are deemed suspicious, those who by their connections, their conversation, or their writings, declare themselves partizans of tyranny or federation, and enemies to

liberty—Those who have not demonstrated their means of living or the performance of their civic duties, in the manner prescribed by the law of March last—Those who, having been suspended from public employments by the Convention or its Commissioners, are not reinstated therein—Those of the ci-devant noblesse, who have not invariably manifested their attachment to the revolution, and in general all the fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, and agents of emigrants—All who have emigrated between the 1st of July, 1789, and 8th of April, 1792.

"III. The execution of the decree is confided to the Committees of Inspection. The individuals arrested shall be taken to the houses of confinement appointed for their reception. They are allowed to take with them such only of their effects as are strictly necessary, the guards set upon them shall be paid at their expence, and they shall be kept in confinement until the peace.—The Committees of Inspection shall, without delay transmit to the Committee of General Safety an account of the persons arrested, with the motives of their arrest. f—The civil f If this were observed (which I doubt much) it was but a mockery few persons ever knew the precise reason of their confinement.

f reside in France at this moment, and are capable of observing the various forms under which civil and criminal tribunals are empowered, when they deem it necessary, to detain and imprison, as suspected persons, those who being accused of crimes have nevertheless had no bill found against them, (Ileu a accusation,) or who have even been tried and acquitted."

Indications that may serve to distinguish suspicious persons, and those to whom it will be proper to refuse certificates of civism: I. Those who in popular assemblies check the ardour of the people, by artful speeches, by violent exclamations or threats.

"II. Those who with more Caution speak in a mysterious way of the public misfortunes, who appear to pity the lot of the people, and are ever ready to spread bad news with an affectation of concern.

"III. Those who adapt their conduct and language to the circumstances of the moment—who, in order to be taken for republicans, put on a studied austerity of manner?, and exclaim with vehemence against the most trifling error of a patriot, but mollify when the crimes of an Aristocrat or a Moderate are the subject of complaint.

"IV. Those of these trifling events Were, being concerned in the massacres of September, 1792—public peculations—occasional, and even habitual Jobbery, forgery, andc. andc.—The second, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh classes, were particularly numerous, inasmuch that I doubt whether they would not have included nineteen-twentieths of all the people in France who were honest or at all capable of reflection.

Vol. I. Had hatred for the government flicker itself, that the latter is a clef d'œuvre in its kind.

"IV. Those who pity avaricious farmers and shopkeepers, against whom the laws have been necessarily directed.

"V. Those who with the words liberty, country, republic, &c. constantly in their mouths, hold intercourse with ci-devant Nobles, contre-revolutionnaires Priests, Aristocrats, Feudalists, andc. and take an interest in their concerns.

"VI. Those who not having borne an active part in the revolution, endeavour to excuse themselves by urging the regular payment of their taxes, their patriotic gifts, and their service in the Garde Nationales by substitute or otherwise.

"VII. Those who received the republican constitution with coolness, or who intimated their pretended apprehensions for its establishment and duration.

"VIII. Those, who having done nothing against liberty, have done as little for it.

"IX. Those who do not frequent the assembly of themselves, and offer, for excuse, that they are no orators, or have no time to spare from their own business.

"X. Those who speak with contempt of the constituted authorities, of the rigour of the laws, of the popular societies, and the defenders of liberty.

"XI. Those who have signed anti-revolutionary petitions, or at any time frequented unpatriotic clubs, or were known as partizans of La Fayette, and accomplices in the affair of the Champ de Mars."

Now, exclusive of the above legal and moral indications of people to be suspected, there are also outward and visible signs which we are told from the tribune of the Convention, and the Jacobins, are not much less infallible—such as Gens à liais de soie rayss mouchetes—a chateau rond—habit farre—cidotte peinci étroite—a bottes drees—les mujcadtns—Freloquets—Robinetts, andc. The consequence of making the cut of a man's coat, or the shape of his hat, a test of his political opinions, has been to transform the whole country into republicans, at least as far as depends on the costume; and where, as is natural, there exists a consciousness of inveterate aristocracy, the external is more elaborately à la Jacobin. The equipment, indeed, of a French patriot of the latest date is as singular as his manners, and in both he is highly distinguishable from the inhabitants of any other country: from those of civilized nations, because he is gross and ferocious—from those of barbarous ones, because his grossness is often affected, and his ferocity a matter of principle and preference,

A man who would not be reckoned fusteb now arrays himself in a jacket and trowsers (a Carmagnole) of striped cotton or coarse

and a cloth cloth, a neckcloth of gaudy cotton, wadded like a horse collar, and projecting considerably beyond his chin, a cap of red and blue cloth, embroidered in front and made much in the form of that worn by the Pierrot of a pantomime, with one, or sometimes a pair, of ear-rings, about the size of a large curtain-ring! Finally, he crops his hair, and carefully encourages the growth of an enormous-pair of whiskers, which he does not fail to perfume with volumes of tobacco smoke. He, however, who is ambitious of still greater eminence, disdains these fopperies, and effects an appearance of filth and rags, which he dignifies with the appellation of stern republicanism and virtuous poverty; and thus, by means of a thread-bare coat out at elbows, wooden shoes, and a red woollen cap, the rich hope to secure their wealth, and the covetous and intriguing to acquire lucrative employments. Roland, I think, was the founder of these modern Franciscans, and with this miserable affectation he machinated the death of the King, and, during some months, procured for himself the exclusive direction of the government.

All these patriots by prescription and of themselves have likewise a peculiar and appropriated dialect—they address every one by the title of Citizen, thee and thou indistinctly, and talk of nothing but the agents of Pitt and Cobourg, the coalesced tyrants, royal ogres, satellites of the despots, automaton flares, and anthropophagi-, and if they revert to their own prosperous state, and this very happy country, it is, un peuple libre, un peuple heureux, and par excellence la terre de la liberté.—It is to be

observed, that those with whom these pompous expressions are most familiar, are officers employed in the warlike service of mutilating the wooden saints in churches, and arresting old women whom they encounter without national cockades; or members of the municipalities, now reduced to execute the offices of constables, and whose chief functions are to hunt out suspected people, or make domiciliary visits in quest of concealed eggs and butter. But, above all, this democratic oratory is used by tailors, shoe-makers, &c. of the Committees of Inspection, and to those to whom the Representatives on mission have delegated their unlimited powers, who arrest much on the principle of Jack Cade, and with whom it is a crime to read and write, or to appear decently dressed. These ridiculous accoutrements, and this magnificent phraseology, are in themselves very harmless; but the ascendancy which such a class of people are taking has become a subject of just alarm.—The whole administration of the country is now in the hands of uninformed and necessitous profligates, swindlers, men already condemned by the laws, and who, if the revolution had not given them place and office," would have been at the galleys, or in prison. To these may be added

For some months the departments were infected by people of this description—corrupt, ignorant, and insolent. Their motives of arrest were usually the hope of plunder, or the delirium of clifftrepping those whom they had been used to look upon as their superiors.—At Arras it sufficed even to have disobliged the wives of these milcreants to become the object of a few men of weak character, and unsteady principles, who remain in office because they fear to resign; and a few, and but very few, ignorant fanatics, who really imagine they are free because they can molest and destroy with impunity all they have hitherto been taught to respect; and drink treble the quantity they did formerly.

object: of persecution. In some places they arrested with the most barbarous caprice, even without the shadow of a reason. At Hesdin, a small town in Artois, Dumont left the Major carte blanche, and in one night two hundred people were thrown into prison. Every where these low and obscure dominators reigned without controul, and so much were the people intimidated, that, instead of daring to complain, they treated their new tyrants with the most fervile adulation.—I have seen a ci-devant Comtesse coquetting with all her might a Jacobin tailor, and the richest merchants of a town soliciting very humbly the good offices of a dealer in old clothes.

One of the administrators of the department de la Somme (which, however, was more decently composed than many others,)

Oct. 30. For some days the guards have been so untraversable, and the crowd at the door has been so great, that Fleury was obliged to make various efforts before he could communicate the result of his negotiation. He has at length found means to inform us, that his friend the tailor had exerted all his interest in our favour, but others,) was, before the revolution, convicted of house-breaking, and another of forgery; and it has since been proved on various occasions, particularly on the trial of the ninety-four jupiteers, that the revolutionary committees were, for the most part, composed of the very refuse of society—adventurers, thieves, and even assassins; and it would be difficult to imagine a crime that did not there find reward and protection.—In vain were the privileges of the nobility abolished, and religion proscribed. A new privileged order arose in the Jacobins, and guilt of every kind, without the semblance of penitence, found an

afyluni in thefe committees, and an inviolability more facred than that afforded by the demolifhed altars.

d 4 that that Dumont and Le Bon (as often happens between neighbouring potentates) are at war, and their enmity being in fome degree fubjec"l to their mutual fears, neither will venture to libe-jate any prifoner arrefted by the other, left fuch a difpofition to clemency fhould be feized on by his rival as a ground of accusation.—r All, therefore, that can be obtained is, a pro-mife to have us removed to Amiens in a fhort time; and I underftand the detenus are there treated with confideration, and that no tribunal revolutionnaire has yet been eftablifhed.

My mind will be confiderably more at eafe if this removal can be effected. Perhaps we may not be in more real danger here than at any

But If they did not free the enemies of each other, they revenged themfelves by throwing into prifon all their mutual friends—for the temper of the times was fuch, that, though thefe Representatives were exprefsly inverted with unlimited powers, they did not venture to fet any one at liberty without a multitude of forms and a long attendance; on the contrary, they arrefted without any form at all, and allowed their myrmidons to harrafs and confine the perfons and fequefter the property of all whom they judged proper.—It feemed to have been an elementary principle with thofe e-employed by the government at this time, that they rifked nothing in doing all the mifchief they could, and that they erred only in not doing enough.

other other place, but it is not realities that conftitute the mifery of life; and iituated as we are, the imagination muft be phlegmatic indeed, which does not create and exaggerate enough to prevent the portability of eafe.—We are, as I before obferved, placed as it were within the jurif-diction of the Guillotine; and I have learned " a fecret of our prifon-houfe" to day which

Mad. de had hitherto concealed from me, and which has rendered me ftill more anxious to quit it. Several of our fellow-prifoners, whom J fupposed only transferred to other houfes, Jiave been taken away to undergo the ceremony of a trial, and from thence to the fcaffold. Thefe judicial mafacles are now become common, and the repetition of them has deftroyed at once the fenfe of humanity and the fenfe of juftice. Familiarized to executions, the thought-lefs and fanguinary people behold with equal indifference the guilty or innocent victim; and the Guillotine has not only ceafed to be an object of horror, but is become almolt a fource of amufement.

The

At Arras this horrid inftrument of death was what they called en permanence, (ftationary,) and fo little regard was paid to the morals of the people, (I fay the morals, becaufe every thing which tends to deftroy their humanity renders them

The dark and ferocious character of Le Bon developes itfelf hourly: the whole department trembles them vlcious,) that it was often left from one execution to another with the enfanguined traces of the laft victim but too evident.—Children were taught to amufe themfelves by making models of the Guillotine, with which they deftroyed flies, and even animals. On the Pontneuf, at Paris, a fort of puppet-fhow was exhibited daily, whole boaft it was to give a very exact imitation of a guillotmagc; and the burthen of a popular fong current for fome months was " Danfons la Guillotine." On the fift of January, 1794, the anni- verfary of the Kings death, the Convention were

invited to celebrate it on the "Place de la Revolution" where, during the ceremony, and in presence of the whole legislative body, several people were executed. It is true, Bourbon, one of the Deputies, complained of this indecency; but not so much on account of the circumstance itself, as because it gave some of the people an opportunity of telling him in a sort of way he might probably deem prophetic, that one of the victims was a Representative of the People. The Convention pretended to order that some enquiry should be made why at such a moment such a place was chosen; but the enquiry came to nothing, and I have no doubt but the executions were purposely intended as analogous to the ceremony.—It was proved that Le Bon, on an occasion when he chose to be a spectator of some executions he had been the cause of, suspended the operation while he read the newspapers aloud, in order as he said, that the aristocrats might go out of the world with the additional mortification of learning the success of the republican arms in their last moment?.

Those trembles before him; and those who have least merited persecution are, with reason, the most apprehensive. The most cautious prudence of conduct, the most undeviating rectitude in those who are by their fortune or rank obnoxious to the tyrant, far from contributing to their security, only mark them out for a more early sacrifice. What is still worse, these horrors are not likely to terminate, because he is allowed to pay out of the treasury of the department the mob that are employed to popularize and applaud them.—I hope, in a few days, we shall receive our permission to depart. My impatience is a malady, and, for nearly the first time in my life, I am sensible of ennui; not the ennui occasioned by want of amusement, but that which is the effect of unquiet expectation, and which makes both the mind and body restless and incapable of attending to any thing. I am incessantly haunted by the idea that the companion

The people of Breft were fattered to behold, I had almost said to be amused with (for if those who order such spectacles are detestable, the people that permit them are not free from blame,) the sight of twenty-five heads ranged in a line, and still convulsed with the agonies of death.—The cant word for the Guillotine was "our holy mother;" and verdicts of condemnation were called prizes in the "Sjintc Lotteric"—holy lottery.

of to-day may to-morrow expire under the Guillotine, that the common acts of social intercourse may be explained into intimacy, intimacy into the participation of imputed treasons, and the fate of those with whom we are associated become our own. It appears both useless and cruel to have brought us here, nor do I yet know any reason why we were not all removed to Amiens, except it was to avoid exposing to the eyes of the people in the places through which we must pass too large a number of victims at once.—The cause of our being removed from Peronne is indeed avowed, as it is at present a rule not to confine people at the place of their residence, lest they should have too much facility of communication with, or assistance from, their friends. We should doubtless have remained at Arras until some change in public affairs had procured our release, but for the fortunate discovery of the man I have mentioned; and the trifling favour of removal from one prison to another has been obtained only by certain arrangements which Fleury has made with this. In some departments the nobles and priests arrested were removed from ten to twenty leagues distant from their homes; and if they happened to have relations living at the places where they were confined, these last were forbidden to reside there; or even to travel that way., subordinate

subordinate agent of tyranny, and in which justice or consideration for us has had no share. Alas! are we not miserable? is not the country miserable, when our only resource is in the vices of those who govern?—It is uncertain whether we shall be ordered from hence—it may happen when we least expect: it, even in the night, so that I shall not attempt to write again till we have changed our situation. The risk is at present too serious, and you must allow my desire of amusing you to give way to my solicitude for my own preservation.

Bicetre, at Amlens, Nov. 18.

Thus voilà done encore, /ogees a la nation, that is to say, in the common prison of the department, amidst the thieves, vagabonds, maniacs, and confined by the old police, and the gens fussepts recently arrested by the new.—I write from the end of a sort of elevated barn, sixty or seventy feet long, where the interstices of the tiles admit the wind from all quarters, and scarcely exclude the rain, and where an old screen and some curtains only separate Mad.

de, myself, and our servants from sixty priests, priests, most of them old, sick, and as wretched as men can be, who are pious and resigned. Yet even here I feel comparatively at ease, and an escape from the jurisdiction of Le Bon and his merciless tribunal seems cheaply purchased at the expense of our personal inconvenience. I do not pretend to philosophize or justify, or to any thing else which implies a contempt of life—I have, on the contrary, a most unheroic solicitude about my existence, and consider my removal to a place where I think we are safe as a very fortunate circumstance of our captivity.

After many delays and disappointments, Fleury at length procured an order, signed by the Representative, for our being transferred to Amiens, under the care of two Gardes Nationaux, and, of course, at our expense.

Every thing in this country wears the aspect of despotism. At twelve o'clock at night we were awakened by the officer on guard, and informed we were to depart on the morrow; and, notwithstanding the difficulty of procuring horses and carriages, it was specified, that if we did not go on the day appointed, we were not to go at all. It was, of course, late before we could surmount the various obstacles to our journey, and procure two crazy cabriolets, and a cart a Cart for the guards, ourselves, and baggage. The days being short, we were obliged to sleep at Dourlens; and, on our arrival at the castle, which is now, as it always has been, a state-prison, we were told it was so full, that it was absolutely impossible to lodge us, and that we had better apply to the Governor, for permission to sleep at an inn. We then drove to the Governor's house, who received us very civilly, and with very little persuasion agreed to our request. At the best of the miserable inns in the town we were informed they had no room, and that they could not accommodate us in any way whatever, except a sick officer then in the house would permit us to occupy one of two beds in his apartment.

In England it would not be very decent to make such a request, or to accept such an accommodation. In France, neither the one nor the other is unusual, and we had suffered lately

The Commandant had been originally a private soldier in the regiment of Dillon.—I know not how he had obtained his

advancement, but, however obtained, it proved fatal to him: he was, a very short time after I saw him, guillotined at Arras, for having borrowed money of a prisoner. His real crime was, probably, treating the prisoners in general with too much consideration and indulgence; and at this period every suspicion of the kind was capital.

For many embarrassments of the kind, that we were, if not reconciled, at least inured to them. Before, however, we could determine, the gentleman had been informed of our situation, and came to offer his services. You may judge of our surprise when we found in the stranger, who had his head bound up and his arm in a sling, General, a relation of Mad. de—.

We had now, therefore, less scruple in sharing his room, though we agreed, notwithstanding, only to repose a few hours in our clothes.

After taking some tea, the remainder of the evening was dedicated to reciprocal conversation of all kinds; and our guards having acquaintance in the town, and knowing it was impossible for us to escape, even were we so inclined, very civilly left us to ourselves. We found the General had been wounded at Maubeuge, and was now absent on leave for the recovery of his health. He talked of the present state of public affairs like a military man who is attached to his profession, and who thinks it his duty to fight at all events, whatever the rights or merits of those that employ him. He confessed, indeed, that they were repulsing their external enemies, only to confirm the power of those who were infinitely more to be dreaded at home, and that the condition of a General was more to be commiserated at this time than any other: if he miscarry, disgrace and the Guillotine await him—if he be successful, he gains little honour, becomes an object of jealousy, and assists in rivetting the chains of his country. He said, the armies were for the most part licentious and insubordinate, but that the political discipline was terrible—the soldiers are allowed to drink, pillage, and insult their officers with impunity, but all combinations are rigorously suppressed, the slightest murmur against the Representative on mission is treason, and to disapprove of a decree of the Convention, death—that every man of any note in the army is beset with spies, and if they leave the camp on any occasion, it is more necessary to be on their guard against these wretches than against an ambuscade of the enemy; and he related a circumstance which happened to himself as an example of what he mentioned, and which will give you a tolerable idea of the present system of government.—After the relief of Dunkirk, being quartered in the neighbourhood of St. Omer, he occasionally went to the town on his private concerns. One day, while he was waiting at the inn where he intended to dine, two young men accosted him, and, Vol. i. He after after engaging him in a general conversation for some time, began to talk with great freedom, though with an affected caution of public men and measures, of the banditti who governed, the tyranny that was exercised, and the sufferings of the people: in short, of all those too poignant truths which constitute the ills of the day. Monsieur de was not at first very attentive, but finding their discourse become still more liberal, it excited his suspicions, and casting his eyes on a glass opposite to where they were converging, he perceived a sort of intelligence between them, which immediately suggested to him the profession of his companions; and calling to a couple of dragoons who had attended him, ordered them to arrest the two gentlemen as aristocrats, and convey them without ceremony to prison. They submitted, seemingly more surprised

than alarmed, and in two hours the General received a note from a higher power, defiring him to fet them at liberty, as they were agents of the republic.

Duquefnoy, one of the repreſentatives now with the Northern army, is ignorant and brutal in the extreme. He has made his brother (who, as well as himſelf, uſed to retail hops in the ſtreets of St. Pol,) a General, and in order to deliver

deliver him from rivals and critics, he breaks, ſuſpends, arreſts, and ſends to the Guillotine every officer of any merit that comes in his way. After the battle of Maubeuge, he arreſted a General Bardell, for accomodating a wounded priſoner of diſtinction (I think a relation of the Prince of Cobourg) with a bed, and tore with his own hands the epaulette from the ſhoulders of thoſe Generals whoſe diviſions had not ſuſtained the combat ſo well as the others. His temper, naturally ſavage and choleric, is irritated to fury by the habit of drinking large quantities of Strong liquors; and Mad. de ſ relation aſſured us, that he had himſelf ſeen him take the Mayor of Avesnes (a venerable old man, who was preſenting him ſome petition that regarded the town,) by the hair, and throw him on the ground, with the geſtures of an. enraged cannibal. He alſo confined one of his fellow-deputies in the tower of Guife, upon a very frivolous pretext, and merely on his own authority. In fact, I ſcarcely remember half the horrors told us of this man; and I Shall only remind you, that he has an unlimited con-troul over the civil conſtitution of the Northern

The Generals Bardell and DAvesnes, and ſeveral others, were afterwards guillotined at Paris.

See a army, army, and over the whole department of the North.

You, I ſuppoſe, will be better informed of military events than we are, and I mention our friends conjecture, that (beſides an enormous number of killed) the wounded at Maubeuge amounted to twelve or fourteen thouſand, only to remark the deception which is ſtill practiſed on the people; for no publiſhed account ever allowed the number to be more than a few hundreds.—Beſides theſe profeſſional details, the General gave us ſome very unpleaſant family ones. On returning to his fathers chateau, where he hoped to be taken care of while his wounds were curing, he found every room in it under ſeals, three guards in poſſeſſion, his two ſiſters arreſted at St. Omer, where they happened to be on a viſit, and his father and mother confined in ſeparate houſes of detention at Arras. After viſiting them, and making ſome ineffectual applications for their relief, he came to the neighbourhood of Dourlens, expecting to find an aſylum with an uncle, who had hitherto eſcaped the general perfecution of the gentry. Here again his diſappointment and chagrin were renewed: his uncle had been carried off to Amiens the morning of his arrival, and the houſe rendered inacceſſible, by the uſual affixture of ſeals, and an attendant pair of myrmidons to guard them from infraction. Thus excluded from all his family habitations, he had taken up his reſidence for a day or two at the inn where we met him, his intention being to return to Arras.

In the morning we made our adieus and purſued our journey; but, tenacious of this comparative liberty and the enjoyment of pure air, we prevailed on our conductors to let us dine on the road, ſo that we lingered with the un-willingneſs of truant children, and did not reach Amiens until dark. When we arrived at the Hotel de Ville, one of the guards enquired how we were to be diſpoſed of. Unfortunately for us, Dumont happened to be there himſelf, and on hearing we were ſent from Arras by order of Le

Bon, declared most furiously (for our Representative is subject; to choler since his accession to greatness) that he would have no prisoners received from Arras, and that we should sleep at the Conciergerie, and be conveyed back again on the morrow. Terrified at this menace, we persuaded the guard to represent to Dumont that we had been sent to Amiens at our own instance, and that we had been originally arrested here by himself, and were therefore desirous of returning to the department where he was on mission, and where we had more reason to expect justice than at Arras. Mollified, perhaps, by this implied preference of his authority, he consented that we should remain for the present at Amiens, and ordered us to be taken to the Bicêtre. Whoever has been used to connect with the word Bicêtre the idea of the prison so named at Paris must recoil with horror upon hearing they are destined to such an abode. Madame, yet weak from the remains of her illness, laid hold of me in a transport of grief; but, far from being able to calm or console her, my thoughts were so bewildered that I did not, till we alighted at the gate, begin to be really sensible of our situation. The night was dark and drear, and our first entrance was into a kitchen, such as my imagination had pictured the subterraneous one of the robbers in *Gil Blas*. Here we underwent the ceremony of having our pocket-books searched for papers and letters, and our trunks rummaged for knives and fire-arms. This done, we were shown to the lodging I have described, and the poor priests, already insufferably crowded, were obliged almost to join their beds in order to make room for us. I will not pain you by a recital of all the embarrassments and distresses we had to surmount before we could even rest ourselves. We were in want of every thing, and the rules of the prison such, that it was nearly impossible, for some time, to procure any thing: but the human mind is more flexible than we are often disposed to imagine it; and in two days we were able to see our situation in its best point of view, (that is, as an escape from Arras,) and the affair of submitting our bodies to our minds must be achieved by time.—We have now been here a week. We have founded the very depth of humiliation, taken our daily allowance of bread with the rest of the prisoners, and contracted a most friendly intimacy with the gaoler.

I have discovered since our arrival, that the order for transferring us hither described me as a native of the Low Countries. I know not how this has happened, but my friend has insisted on my not rectifying the mistake, for as the French talk continually of re-conquering Brabant, she persuades herself such an event would procure me my liberty. I neither desire the one nor expect the other; but, to indulge her, I speak no English, and avoid two or three of my countrymen who I am told are here. There have been also some English families who were lately removed, but the French pronounce our names so strangely, that I have not been able to learn who they were.

November 1.

JL THE English in general, especially of late years, have been taught to entertain very formidable notions of the Bastille and other state prisons of the ancient government, and they were, no doubt, horrid enough; yet I have not hitherto been able to discover that those of the new republic are any way preferable. The only difference is, that the great number of prisoners which, for want of room, are obliged to be heaped together, makes it impossible to exclude them as formerly from communication, and instead of being maintained at the public expence, they now, with great difficulty, are able

to procure wherewithal to eat at their own. Our present habitation is an immense building, about a quarter of a mile from the town, intended originally for the common gaol of the province. The situation is damp and unwholesome, and the water so bad, that I should suppose a long continuance here of such a number of prisoners must be productive of endemical disorders. Every avenue to the house is guarded, and no one is permitted to stop and look up at the windows, under pain of becoming a refractory. We are strictly prohibited from all external intercourse, except by writing; and every scrap of paper, though but an order for a dinner, passes the inspection of three different people before it reaches its destination, and, of course, many letters and notes are mislaid, and never sent at all.—There is no court or garden in which the prisoners are allowed to walk, and the only exercise they can take is in damp passages, or a small yard, (perhaps thirty feet square,) which often smells so detestably, that the atmosphere of the house itself is less refreshing.

Our fellow-captives are a motley collection of the victims of nature, of justice, and of tyranny—of lunatics who are insensible of their situation, of thieves who deserve it, and of political criminals whose guilt is the accident of birth, the imputation of wealth, or the clerical profession. Among the latter is the Bishop of Amiens, whom I recollect to have mentioned in a former letter. You will wonder why a constitutional Bishop, once popular with the democratic party, should be thus treated. The real motive was, probably, to degrade in his person a minister of religion—the often-sensible one, a dispute with Dumont at the Jacobin club. As the times grew alarming, the Bishop, perhaps, thought it politic to appear at the club, and the Representative meeting him there one evening, began to interrogate him very rudely with regard to his opinion of the marriage of priests. M. Dubois replied, that when it was officially incumbent on him to explain himself, he would do so, but that he did not think the club a place for such discussions, or something to this purpose. "Tu prevais-riques donc!—Je farrande furle champ: " the Bishop was accordingly arrested at the instant, and conducted to the bicetre, without even being suffered to go home and furnish himself with necessaries; and the seals being immediately put on his effects, he has never been able to obtain a change of linen and clothes, or any thing else—this too at a time when the pensions of the clergy are ill paid, and every article of clothing so dear as to be almost unobtainable by moderate fortunes, and when those who might otherwise be disposed to aid or accommodate their friends, abandon them through fear of being implicated in their misfortunes.

What you prevaricate!—I arrest you instantly.

But

But the Bishop, yet in the vigor of life, is better capable of enduring these hardships than most of the poor priests with whom he is associated: the greater number of them are very old men, with venerable grey locks—and their tattered clerical habits, scanty meals, and wretched beds, give me many an heart-ache. God send the constant fight of so much misery play not render me callous!—It is certain, there are people here, who, whatever their feeling might have been on this occasion at first, seem now little affected by it. Those who are too much familiarized with scenes of wretchedness, as well as those to whom they are unknown, are not often very susceptible; and I am sometimes disposed to cavil with our natures, that the sufferings which ought to excite

our benevolence, and the prosperity that enables us to relieve them, should ever have a contrary effect. Yet this is so true, that I have scarcely ever observed even the poor confederate towards each other—and the rich, if they are frequently charitable, are not always compassionate.

Nov. /

Our situation at the Blottere, though terrible for people unused to hardships or confinement, and, in fact, wretched as personal inconvenience could make it, was yet Elysium, compared to the prisons of other departments. At St. Omer, the prisoners

Nov. 20. Besides the gentry and clergy of this department, we have likewise for companions prisoners were frequently disturbed at midnight by the entrance of men into their apartments, who, with the detestable ensign of their order, (red caps,) and pipes in their mouths, came by way of frolic to search the pockets, trunks, andc.—At Montreuil, the Maison d'Arret were under the direction of a Commisary, whose behaviour to the female prisoners was too atrocious for recital—two young women, in particular, who refused to purchase milder treatment, were locked up in a room for seventeen days. Soon after I left Arras, every prison became a den of horror. The miserable inhabitants were subject to the agents of Le Bon, whose avarice, cruelty, and licentiousness, were beyond any thing a humane mind can imagine. Sometimes the houses were suddenly surrounded by an armed force, the prisoners turned out in the depth of winter for several hours into an open court, during the operation of robbing them of their pocket-books, buckles, ear-rings, or whatever of value they had about them. At other times they were visited by the same military array, and deprived of their linen and clothes. Their wine and provisions were likewise taken from them in the same manner—were separated from their husbands, parents from their children, old men treated with the most savage barbarity, and young women with an indecency still more abominable. All communication, either by writing or otherwise, was often prohibited for many days together, and an order was once given to prevent even the entry of provisions, which was not revoked till the prisoners became absolutely distressed. At the Hotel Dieu they were forbid to draw more than a single jug of water in twenty-four hours. At the Providence, the well was left three days without a cord, and when the unfortunate females confined there pined a number of inhabitants of Lille, arrested under circumstances singularly atrocious, even where atrocity is the characteristic of almost every proceeding.—In the month of August a decree was passed to oblige all the nobility, clergy, and their servants, as well as all those persons who had been in the service of emigrants, to depart from Lille in eight-and-forty hours, and prohibiting their residence within twenty leagues from the frontiers. Thus banished from their own habitations, they took refuge in different towns, at the prescribed distance procured people to beg water of the neighbours, they were refused, "because it was for prisoners, and if Le Bon heard of it he might be displeased." Windows were blocked up, not to prevent escape, but to exclude air; and when the general scarcity rendered it impossible for the prisoners to procure sufficient food for their support, their small portions were diminished at the gate, under pretext of searching for letters, andc.—People, respectable both for their rank and character, were employed to clean the prisons and privies, while their low and insolent tyrants looked on and insulted them. On an occasion when one of the Maison d'Arrets was on

fire, guards were planted round, with orders to fire upon those that would attempt to escape.—My memory has but too faithfully recorded these and still greater horrors; but curiosity would be gratified but too dearly by the relation.

I added the above note some months after writing the letter to which it is annexed.

. tance; tance; but, almost as soon as they were arrived, and had been at the expence of fettering them-selves, they were arrested as strangers, and conducted to prison.

It will not be improper to notice here the conduct of the government towards the towns that have been besieged. Thionville, to whose gallant defence next France owed the retreat of the Prussians and the safety of Paris, was afterwards continually reproached with aristocracy; and when the inhabitants sent a deputation to solicit an indemnity for the damage the town had sustained during the bombardment, a member of the Convention threatened them from the tribune with "indemnités a coup de bâton" that is, in our vernacular tongue, with a good thrashing.

I have before, I believe, noticed that the term *étranger* at this time did not exclusively apply to foreigners, but to such as had come from one town to another, who were at inns or visiting their friends.

J Wimpfon, who commanded there, and whose conduct at the time was enthusiastically admired, was driven, most probably by the ingratitude and ill treatment of the Convention, to head a party of the Federalists.—These legislators perpetually boast of imitating and surpassing the Romans, and it is certain their ingratitude has made more than one Coriolanus. The difference is, that they are not jealous for the liberty of the country, but for their own personal safety.

The

The inhabitants of Lille, who had been equally serviceable in stopping the progress of the Austrians, for a long time petitioned without effect to obtain the sums already voted for their relief. The nobles, and others from thence who have been arrested, as soon as it was known that they were Lillois, were treated with peculiar rigour; and an *armée révolutionnaire*,

with the Guillotine for a standard, has lately harassed the town and environs of Lille, as though it were a conquered country. The garriſon and national guard, indignant at the horrors they committed, obliged them to decamp. Even the people of Dunkirk, whose resistance to the English, while the French army was collecting together for their relief, was perhaps of more consequence than ten victories, have been since intimidated with Commissions, and Tribunals, and Guillotines, as much as if they had been convicted of felling the town. In short, under this philanthropic republic, persecution seems to be very exactly proportioned to the services rendered. A jealous and suspicious government does not forget, that the same

The Commandant of Lille, on his arrival at the Bicêtre, was stripped of a considerable sum of money, and a quantity of plate he had unluckily brought with him by way of security. Out of this he is to be supplied with fifty livres at a time in paper, which, according to the exchange and the price of every thing, is, I suppose, about half a guinea.

J The *armée révolutionnaire* was first raised by order of the Jacobins, for the purpose of searching the countries for pro-Tories, and conducting them to Paris. Under this pretext, a levy was made of all the most desperate ruffians that could be collected

together. They were divided into companies, each with its attendant Guillotine, and then distributed in the different departments: they had extraordinary pay, and seem to have been subject to no discipline. Many of them were distinguished by the representation of a Guillotine in miniature, and a head just severed, on their cartouch-boxes. It would be impossible to describe half the enormities committed by these banditti: wherever they went they were regarded as a scourge, and every heart shrank at their approach. Lecointre, of Versailles, a member of the Convention, complained that a band of these wretches entered the house of a farmer, one of his tenants, by night, and, after blinding the family hand and foot, foot, and helping themselves to whatever they could find, they placed the farmer with his bare feet on the chaffing-dish of hot. Irons, by way of forcing him to discover where he had secreted his plate and money, which having secured, they let all the vessels of liquor running, and then retired.

You are not to suppose this a robbery, and the actors common thieves; all was in the usual form—"au nom tie la loi," and for the service of the republic; and I do not mention this instance as remarkable, otherwise than as having been noticed in the Convention. A thousand events of this kind, even still more atrocious, have happened; but the fugitives who had not the means of defence as well as of complaint, were obliged, through policy, to be filled with energy of character which has enabled a people to defend themselves against an external enemy, may also make them less submissive to domestic Oppression; and, far from repaying them with the gratitude to which they have a claim, it treats them, on all occasions, as opponents, whom it both fears and hates.

Nov. 22. We have been walking in the yard to-day with General Laveneur, who, for an act: which in any other country would have gained him credit, is in this suspended from his command.—When Custine, a few weeks before his death, left the army to visit some of the neighbouring towns, the command devolved on Laveneur, who received, along with other official papers, a list of counter-signs, which, having probably been made some time, and not altered conformably to the changes of the day, contained, among others, the words Condorcet—Constitution; and these were in their turn given out. On Custine's trial, this was made a part of his accusation. Laveneur, recollecting that the circumstance had happened in the absence of Custine, thought it incumbent on him to take the blame, if there were any, on himself, and wrote to Paris to explain the matter as it really stood; but his candour, without availing. Vol. i. In fine, fine, drew persecution on himself, and the only notice taken of his letter was an order to arrest him. After being dragged from one town to another, like a criminal, and often lodged in dungeons and common prisons, he was at length deposited here., I know not if the General's principles are republican, but he has a very democratic pair of whiskers, which he occasionally strokes, and seems to cherish with much affection. He is, however, a gentleman-like man, and expresses such anxiety for the fate of his wife and children, who are now at Paris, that one cannot; but be interested in his favour.—As the agents of the republic never err on the side of omission, they arrested Monf. Laveneur's aid-de-camp with him; and another officer of his acquaintance, who was suspended, and living at Amiens, has shared the same fate, only for endeavouring to procure him a trifling accommodation. This gentleman called on Dumont, to beg that General Laveneur's servant might be permitted to go in and out of the prison on

his masters errands. After breakfasting together, and conversing on very civil terms, Dumont told him, that as he concerned himself so much in behalf of his friend, he would send him to keep the latter company, and at the conclusion of his visit he was sent prisoner to the Bicetre.

Perhaps the greater part of between three and four hundred thousand people, now imprisoned on suspicion, have been arrested for reasons as little substantial.—I begin to fear my health will not resist the hardship of a long continuance here. We have no fire-place, and are sometimes perished with partial winds from the doors and roof; at others faint and heart-sick with the unhealthy air produced by so many living bodies. The water we drink is not preferable to the air we breathe; the bread (which is now every where scarce and bad) contains such a mixture of barley, rye, damaged wheat, and trash of all kinds, that, far from being nourished by it, I lose both my strength and appetite daily.—Yet these are not the worst of our sufferings. Shut out from all society, victims of a despotic and unprincipled government capable of every thing, and ignorant of the fate which may await us, we are occasionally oppressed by a thousand melancholy apprehensions. I might, indeed, have boasted my fortitude, and have made myself an heroine on paper at as small an expence of words as it has cost me to record my cowardice: but I am, perhaps, of an unlucky conformation, and think either too much or too little (I know not which) for a female philosopher; besides, philosophy is getting into such ill repute, that not possessing the reality, the name of it is not worth assuming.

A poor old priest told me just now, (while Angelique was mending his black coat with white thread,) that they had left at the place where they were last confined a large quantity of linen, and other necessaries; but, by the express orders of Dumont, they were not allowed to bring a single article away with them. The keeper, too, it seems, was threatened with dismissal, for supplying one of them with a shirt.—In England, where, I believe, you ally political expediency as much as you can with justice and humanity, these cruelties, at once little and refined, will appear incredible; and the French themselves, who are at least ashamed of, if they are not pained by, them, are obliged to seek refuge in the fancied palliative of a "state of revolution."—Yet, admitting the necessity of confining the persons of these old men, there can be none for heaping them together in filth and misery, and adding to the sufferings of years and infirmity by those of cold and want. If, indeed, a state of revolution require such deeds, and imply an apology for them, I cannot but wish the French had remained as they were, for I know of no political changes that can compensate for turning a civilized nation into a people of savages.

It is not surely the eating acorns or ragouts, a well-powdered head, or one decorated with red feathers, that constitutes the difference between barbarism and civilization; and, I fear, if the French proceed as they have begun, the advantage of morals will be considerably on the side of the unrefined savages.

The conversation of the prisoner has been much engaged by the fate of an English gentleman, who lately destroyed himself in a madhouse at Amiens. His confinement had at first deeply affected his spirits, and his melancholy increasing at the prospect of a long detention, terminated in deranging his mind, and occasioned this last act of despair.—I never hear of suicide without a compassion mingled with terror, for,

perhaps, fimple pity is too light an emotion to be excited by an event which reminds us, that we are fufceptible of a degree of mifery too great to be borne—too ftrong for the efforts of F f 3 inftinct, inftindt, reflection, and religion. I could moralize on the neceffity of habitual patience, and the benefit of preparing the mind for great evils by a philofophic endurance of little ones; but I am at the Bicetre—the winds whiffle round me—I am befet by petty diftrefies, and we do not expatiate to advantage on endurance while we have any thing to endure.—Senecas contempt for the things of this world was doubtlefs fuggefted in the palace of Nero. He would not have treated the fubject fo well in difgrace and poverty.—Do not fuppoze I am affecting to be pleafant, for I write in the fober fadnefs of conviction, that human fortitude is often no better than a pompous theory, founded on ielf-love and felf-deception.

I was furprized at meeting among our fellow-prifoners a number of Dutch officers. I find they had been fome time in the town on their parole, and were fent here by Dumont, for refiling to permit their men to work on the fortifications.—The French government and its agents defpife the laws of war hitherto obferved; they confider them as a fort of ariftocratie mili-taire, and they pretend, on the fame principle, to be enfranchifed from the law of nations.—An orator of the Convention lately boafed that he felt himfelf infinitely fuperior to the prejudices of Grotius, Puffendorff, and Vatel, which. he calls "artftocratie diplomatique."—Such fub-lime fpirits think, becaufe they differ from the reft of mankind, that they furpafs them. Like Icarus, they attempt to fly, and are perpetually ftruggling in the mire.—Plain common fenfe has long pointed out a rule of ac"Hon, from which all deviation is fatal, both to nations and individuals. England, as well as France, has furnifhed its examples; and the annals of genius in all countries are replete with the miferies of eccentricity.—Whoever has followed the courfe of the French revolution, will, I believe, be convinced, that the greateft evils attending on it have been occafioned by an affected con-tempt for received maxims. A common banditti, adding only from the defire of plunder, or men, erring only through ignorance, could not have fubjugated an whole people, had they not been affited by narrow-minded philofo-phers, who were eager to facrifice their country to the vanity of making experiments, and were little felicitous whether their fyftems were good or bad, provided they were celebrated as the authors of them. Yet, where are they now? Wandering, profcribed, and trembling at the fate of their followers and accomplices.—The Jf f 4 Briffbtines,

Briffotines, facrificed by a party even worfe than themfelves, have died without exciting either pity or admiration. Their fall was con-fidered as the natural confequence of their exaltation, and the courage with which they met death obtained no tribute but a cold and ample comment, undiftinguifhed from the news of the day, and ending with it.

December. Laft night, after we had been afleep about an hour, (for habit, that "lulls the wet fea-boy on the high and giddy maft," has reconciled us to fleep even here,) we were alarmed by the trampling of feet, and fudden unlocking of our door. Our apprehenfions gave us no time for conjecture—in a moment an ill-looking fellow entered the room with a lantern, two foldiers holding drawn fwords, and a large dog! The whole company walked as it were proceffionally to the end of the apartment, and, after obferving in filence the beds on each fide, left us. It would not be eafy

to describe what we suffered at this moment: for my own part, I thought only of the massacres of September and the frequent proposals at the Jacobins and the Convention for dispatching the "gens-fués" and really concluded I was going to terminate my revolutionary existence."

merit? I do not now know the purport of these visits, but I find they are not unusual, and most probably intended to alarm the prisoners.

After many enquiries and messages, I have had the mortification of hearing that Mr. and

Mrs. D were taken to Arras, and were there even before I left it. The letters sent to and from the different prisons are read by so many people, and pass through so many hands, that it is not surprising we have not heard from each other. As far as I can learn, they had obtained leave, after their first arrest, to remove to a house in the vicinity of Doullens for a few days, on account of Mrs. D's health, which had suffered by passing the summer in the town, and that at the taking of Toulon they were again arrested while on a visit, and conveyed to a Maison Arrandée at Arras. I am the more anxious for them, as it seems they were unprepared for such an event; and as the seals were put upon their effects, I fear they must be in want of every thing. I might, perhaps, have succeeded in getting them removed here, but Fleurys Arras friend, it seems, did not think, when the Convention had abolished every other part of Christianity, that they intended still to exact a partial observance of the eighth article of the decalogue; and having, in the face of Antient Pistorius, "conveyed" a little too notoriously, Le Bon has, by way of securing him from notice or pursuit, sent him to the frontiers as Commissary.

The prison, considering how many French inhabitants it contains, is tolerably quiet—to say the truth, we are not very sociable, and still less gay. Common interest establishes a sort of intimacy between those of the same apartment; but the rest of the house pass each other, without farther intercourse than silent though significant civility. Sometimes you see a pair of unfortunate aristocrats talking politics at the end of a passage, or on a landing-place; and here and there a bevy of females, en déshabillé, recounting altogether the subject of their arrest. One's ear occasionally catches a few half-suppressed notes of a proscribed air, but the unhallowed sounds of the Carmagnole and Marseillois are never heard, and would be thought more diffident here than the war-whoop. In fact, the only appearance of gaiety is among the idiots and lunatics.—"Je m'enfume furieusement," is the general exclamation.—An Englishman confined at the Bicêtre would express himself more forcibly, but, it is certain, the want of knowing how to employ themselves does not form a small part of the distresses of our fellow-prisoners; and when they tell us they are "ennuyés" they say, perhaps, nearly as much as they feel—for, as far as I can observe, the loss of liberty has not the same effect on a Frenchman as an Englishman. Whether this arises from political causes, or the natural indifference of the French character, I am not qualified to determine; probably from both: yet when I observe this facility of mind general, and by no means peculiar to the higher classes, I cannot myself but be of opinion, that it is more an effect of their original disposition than of their form of government; for though in England we were accustomed from our childhood to consider every man in France as liable to wake and find himself in the Bastille, or at Mont St. Michel, this formidable despotism existed

more in theory than in practice; and if courtiers and men of letters were intimidated by it, the mass of the people troubled them—felves very little about Lettres de Cachet. The revenge or fuspicion of Minifters might fome-times purfue thofe who aimed at their power, or afailed their reputation; but the leffer gentry, the merchant, or the fhopkeeper, were very feldom victims of arbitrary imprifonment— and and I believe, amongft the evils which it was the object of the revolution to redrefs, this (except on the principle) was far from being of the firft magnitude. I am not likely, under my prefent circumftances, to be an advocate for the defpotifm of any form of government; and I only give it as a matter of opinion, that the civil liberty of the French was not fo often and generally violated, as to influence their character in a degree to render them infenfible of its lofs. At any rate, we muft rank it among the lizarrerles of this world, that the French fhould have been prepared, by the theory of oppreffion under their old fyftem, for enduring the practice of it under the new one; and that what during the monarchy was only poffible to a few, is under the republic almoft certain to all.

I remember in 1789, after the deftrudtion of the Baftille, our compaffionate countrymen were taught to believe that this tremendous prifon was peopled with victims, and that even the dungeons were inhabited; yet the truth is, though it would not have told fo pathetically, or have produced fo much theatrical effect, there were only feven perfons confined in the whole building, and certainly not one in the dungeons.

J Unaccountable whlmfical events.

Amiens, Providence, Dec. 10.

vv E have again, as you will perceiue, changed our abode, and that too without expecting, and almoft without defining it. In my moments of fullennefs and dependency, I was not very fo-licitous about the modifications of our confinement, and little difpofed to be better fatifised with one prifon than another: but, heroics apart, external comforts are of fome importance, and we have, in many refpects, gained by our removal.

Our prefent habitation is a fpacious building,"- lately a convent, and though now crouded with more prifoners by two or three hundred than it will hold conveniently, yet we are better lodged than at the Bicetre, and we have alfo a large garden, good water, and, what above all is de-lirable, the liberty of delivering our letters or meftages ourfelves (in prefence of the guard) to any one who will venture to approach us.

Mad. de and myfelf have a fmall cell, where we have juft room to place our beds, but we have no fire-place, and the maids are obliged to fleep in an adjoining paflage.

A few evenings ago, while we were at the Bicetre, we were fuddenly informed by the keeper keeper that Dumont had fent fome foldiers with an order to convey us that night to the Providence. We were at firft rather furprized than pleafed, and reluctantly gathered our baggage together with as much expedition as we could, while the men who were to efport us were exclaiming " a la Franfaife" at the trifling delay this occafioned. When we had paffed the gate, we found Fleury, with fome porters, ready to receive our beds, and, overjoyed at having procured us a more decent prifon, for, it feems, he could by no means reconcile himfelf to the name of Bicetre. We had about half a mile to walk, and on the road he contrived to acquaint us with the means by which he had fo-licited this favour of Dumont. After advifing with all Mad. de's friends who were yet at liberty, and finding no one willing to make an effort in her

behalf for fear of involving themselves, he discovered an old acquaintance in the "femme de chambre" of one of the

Representatis miftreffes. This, for one of

Fleurys fagacity, was a fpring to have fet the whole Convention in a ferment; and in a few days he profited fo well by this female patronage, as to obtain an order for transferring us hither. On our arrival, we were informed, as ufual, that the houfe was already full, and that there was no poffibility of admitting us. We, however, however, fet up all night in the keepers room with fome other people newly-arrived like our-felves, and in, the morning, after a little dif-puting and a pretty general derangement of the more ancient inhabitants, we were "nichfas". as I have defcribed to you.

i I :

We have not yet quitted our room much, but I obferve that every one appears more chearful, and more fludied in their toilette, than at the Bicetre, and I am willing to infer from thence that confinement here is lefs infupportable.—I have been employed two days in enlarging the notes I had made in our laft prifon, and in making them more legible, for I ventured no farther than juft to fcribble with a pencil in a kind of fhort-hand of my own invention, and not even that without a variety of precautions. I fhall be here lefs liable either to furprize or obfervation, and as foon as I have fecured what I have already noted, (which I intend to-night,) I fhall contiuee my remarks in the ufual form. You; will find even more than my cuftomary incorrectnefs and want of method fince we left Peronne; but I fhall not allow your competency as a critic, until you have been a prifoner in the hands of French republicans., It will not be improper to notice to you 3 Very ingenious decree of Gafton, (a member of the Convention,) who lately propofed to embark all the Englifh now in France at Breft, and then to lznk the fhips.—Perhaps the Committee of Public Welfare are now in a fort of benevolent indecifion, whether this, or Collot dherbois gunpowder fcheme, fhall have the preference. Legendres iron cage and fimple hanging wij, doubtlefs, be rejected, as too flow and formal. The mode of the day is " les grandes mefures" If I be not ferioufly alarmed at thefe propo-fitions, it is not that life is indifferent to me, pr that I think the government too humane to adopt them. My tranquillity arifes from reflecting that fuch meafures would be of no political ufe, and that. we fhall moft likely be foon forgotten in the multitude of more important concerns. Thofe, however, whom I endeavour to confole by this reafoning, tell me it is nothing lefs than infallible, that the inuti-lity of a crime is here no fecurity againft its perpetration, and that any project which tends to evil will fooner be remembered than one of humanity or juftice.

END OP VOL. I.

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Please return Promptly

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